CULAVAMSA

BEING THE MORE RECENT PART OF THE

MAHĀVAMSA

PART II

TRANSLATED BY

WILHELM GEIGER

AND FROM THE GERMAN INTO ENGLISH BY

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Pronounce *C* in Cūlavaṃsa and in all Pali words as *ch* in *church*, thus Chūlavangsa

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To

Mr. A. M. Hocart,

Archaeological Commissioner, Ceylon,

in sincere gratitude.

INTRODUCTION

Recent years have brought us two comprehensive works on the chronology of Ceylon: 1) JOHN M. SENAVERATNE, "The Date of Buddha's Death and Ceylon Chronology", JRAS. C. B. XXIII, No. 67 (1914), p. 141 ff. and 2) DMDZ. WICKREMASINGHE, "Ceylonese Chronology", as Introduction to vol. III of his Epigraphia Zeylanica.

Still earlier investigations dealing with a longer period are: 3) SYLVAIN LÉVI, "Les Missions de Wang Hiuen Ts'e dans l'Inde" in JAs. 1900, p. 297 ff., 401 ff., translated by JOHN M. SENAVERATNE, JRAS. C. B. XXIV, No. 68 (1915—16), p. 75 ff. (with "Notes" by the Translator p. 106 ff. and 4) E. HULTZSCH, "Contributions to Singhalese Chronology", JRAS. 1913, p. 517 ff.)[1]

I mention further 5) H. W. CODRINGTON, "A Short History of Ceylon" where on p. XIII there is a "Note on the Chronology of Ceylon" which deserves attention.

The numerous single investigations particularly those in the JRAS. C. B. will be quoted in their place. Their authors are: P. E. PIERIS, E. W. PERERA, S. DE SILVA, B. GUNASEKARA, H. C. P. BELL, E. R. AYRTON, H. W. CODRINGTON etc.

The two first named articles (S. and WICKR.) start as I did myself in the translation of the Mahāvaṃsa from FLEET's date of 483 B. C. for the Nirvana of Buddha. Even if this date is not absolutely exact — arguments are advanced for the year 487 B. C. — it is as well to retain it for the moment. Now WICKREMASINGHE, EZ. I, p. 155 ff., has proved that even in

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[1] I quote the above articles as follows: 1) = S., 2) = WICKR., 3) = L., 4) = H. with the page number (in the case of 3 that of the English translation).

Ceylon itself there are traces of an era starting from 483 B. C. whereas later, almost certainly in the 7th century, 544/3 B.C. was adopted as the year of the Nirvana. Thus the most important thing is to find out the point in the chronology of Ceylon where the transition from the one era to the other takes place, where consequently we find an excess of 61 years.

Senaveratne (p. 143)[1] goes farthest in his assumption that the era of B. C. 483 was in use up to the close of the 15th century when a reform of the calendar took place, 544 B. C., being adopted as the year of Buddha's death, 93 instead of 61 years being erroneously added. At the same time the Śaka era (78/9 A. D.) was dated back 93 years. Later, about the 18th century, with a new reform of the calendar, the Buddha era was adjusted to the difference of 61 years. S. gets rid of the surplus number by the assumption that several of the kings' names handed down by tradition for the 15th and 16th centuries refer to the same person, that others are the names of co-regents, while many are mere inventions. Parakkamabāhu VI. is identical with Parakkamabāhu IX., Bhuvanekabāhu VI. with Bh VII., while Parakkamabāhu VII. and VIII. never existed (p. 176—177)

Senaveratne defends his thesis with great acumen and extraordinary learning. But against it there is a series of synchronisms by which we can prove that the era 544/3 must be much older than S. assumes. Moreover the simultaneous alteration of the Śaka era is very unlikely. For this and other reasons Senaveratne's hypothesis was rejected during the discussion following his lecture on the subject. In spite of all the weakness and untrustworthiness of Sinhalese chronology. Wickremasinghe is nevertheless right in taking up a more conservative attitude towards its tradition

One cause of great uncertainty also lies in the fact that in our calculations we have to rely for the most part on the

[1] See also the detailed analysis of Senaveratne's hypothesis by C. [illegible] in 'Ceylon [illegible] Zeit des Königs [illegible] [illegible] und [illegible] [illegible] 1927–1932 by [illegible] and [illegible] (1927) p. 67 ff.

figures for the reigns of the individual kings. Here we cannot rule out the possibility that many of these reigns were at least partly contemporaneous, that it is a case of simultaneous or of joint reigns. But the means for establishing this in individual cases are wanting. We have of course to do also with round numbers. When it is e. g. said that such and such a king reigned 12 years, possibly a few extra months have been thrown in. The sum total of such additions produces however, considerable inexactitude.

The main point however, is that our sources often differ more or or less in their statements regarding the length of the various reigns, that for many of the kings in the Cūlavaṃsa and other documents figures are wanting altogether or can only be obtained approximately by calculation.

Matters are better, at least in my opinion, with the single dates for certain of the more important events, especially those starting with Buddha's Nirvana. I do not deny that some of these dates may have been got at by the authors by the simple process of adding up the years of the reigns. Nevertheless I have the impression that there was a limited number of dates which rested on ancient tradition and had as their starting-point the year of Buddha's death[1]. There are already traces of something like a Buddha era in the Dīpavaṃsa and the Mahāvaṃsa, as for instance, when it is said in Dīp. 17. 78, that Devānampiyatissa was crowned 236 years after Buddha's entry into Nirvana. Or again when in both chronicles (Dīp. 6. 1, Mhvs. 5. 21) there is the remark that 218 years had elapsed between the Nirvana and the coronation of Asoka.

It is possible that in later times a chronological system was constructed out of these individual dates to which the reigns of the kings were adjusted, not of course without some violence. Then a new confusion arose when at a certain time

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[1] I regard also the statement in Mhvs. 33. 80 f., that the Abhayagiri-vihāra was founded 217 years, 10 months and 10 days after the Mahāvihāra as an ancient tradition, though it rests on a different basis. A figure so exact cannot be obtained by mere addition.

through a misunderstanding the cause of which we do not know, the Nirvana of the Buddha was dated back 61 years. At some point or other in the list of the kings this number must be allowed for. Then it is an open question — granted an ancient tradition — whether in converting these single dates into the Christian era we are to start from 483 B. C. or 544/3 B. C.

In the face of all this uncertainty it is advisable in our chronological investigations to rely chiefly on foreign testimony regarding the history of Ceylon. There are above all the synchronisms afforded by Chinese annals and South Indian inscriptions. Then we have the confirmatory evidence of Sinhalese inscriptions, especially those of the mediaeval and modern times. Subsidiary to these are the single dates. The skeleton framed by this "foreign testimony" is indeed meagre in the extreme and the evidence is unequally distributed. A good deal remains doubtful. The blame lies partly in the method of description of the Cūlavaṃsa which conceals so much that to us seems particularly important. What a pity, for instance, that it has nothing to say about the relations with China which would seem to have been not inconsiderable. The name of China is not even once mentioned.

I come now to the fine and careful work of WICKREMASINGHE. When I wrote the preface to Vol. I. of my translation of the Cūlavaṃsa in which I promised an introduction to the chronology for Vol. II., I had not then seen W.'s "Chronological Table of Ceylon Kings" (EZ. III, p. 1 ff.). Later I had doubts whether a treatment of the same subject by myself might not be superfluous. I think, however, that readers of my translation will be glad to have at hand a list of the kings with their more or less probable dates. They will also like to have a more or less comprehensive survey of the material on which our calculations rest.

One thing more. WICKR. makes no attempt at reconciling the two chronological computations of 483 B. C. and 544/3 B. C. He is apparently convinced that this is at present impossible and wishes to avoid increasing the uncertainty by a new and

again uncertain chronology. In converting into the Christian era he starts as far No. 76 (Kumāradhātusena)[1] from 483 B.C. Up to No. 94 (Dappula I.) he places the two computations side by side. From No. 95 (Dāṭhopatissa I.) up to the interregnum after No. 124 (Mahinda V.) he places the figures of the first computation in brackets, thus treating them as less probable and from No. 125 (Kassapa = Vikkamabāhu I.) he follows only the era of 544/3 B.C.

Here I venture a step further. I believe namely that the change of the era falls in the earliest period of the Cūlavaṃsa, that is at the close of the 4th century A.D. Here accordingly is the period where we must allow for the excess of 61 years.

My theory stands and falls with the identity of Ts'a-li Mo-ho-nan of the Chinese annals (L. 83, 89) with King Mahānāma, No. 5 (63). Mo-ho-nan, so it is said, sent a letter, with gifts in the year 428 A.D. to the Chinese Court. This seems to contradict another notice from Chinese sources quoted by L. 75 according to which a king of Ceylon Chi-mi-kia-po-mo (that is Śrī Meghavarman) sent an embassy to the Indian King San-meon-to-lo-kiu-to (that is Samudragupta) asking permission to build a monastery at Bodh Gayā as shelter for pilgrims from Ceylon. The Sinhalese king Śrī Meghavarman is without doubt Sirimeghavaṇṇa, No. 1 (59) the first ruler of the so-called Little Dynasty. Samudragupta reigned from 326 — (about) 375 A.D. According to the traditional chronology the reign of Sirimeghavaṇṇa is reckoned from 362—389 A.D.

But the Cūlavaṃsa reckons 79—80 years from the death of Sirimeghavaṇṇa to Mahānāma's ascent of the throne which would thus occur at the earliest in 468 A.D. And in fact Wickr. 12 gives the date of 468–490 for Mahānāma's reign. But how does this agree with the other notice giving the year 428 for Mahānāma's embassy?[2]

[1] This — not Kumārādidhātusena — is of course the right form of the name. The *ādi* is merely periphrastic, "the Dhātusena who begins with Kumāra". See my Transl., note to 41. 35, 44. 6.

[2] I have pointed out the discrepancy Mhvs. Transl.

Wickremasinghe tries to solve the difficulty by saying: "This (i. e. the embassy) may have taken place probably when Mahānāma was a priest wielding power in Upatissa's reign." This argument is refuted by the fact that Mo-ho-nan is distinctly described as a Ts'a-li, i. e. kshatriya, as king.

The solution of the problem must be sought elsewhere. **Both Chinese notices are right, but the numbers given in the Sinhalese sources for the reigns of Sirimeghavaṇṇa up to Mahānāma are wrong.** Their sum total is 129 to 130 years, but they have been expanded about 60 or 61 years in order to reconcile the old era of 483 B. C. with the new one of 544/3.

It is just here indeed that the traditional dates give the impression of artificial expansion. Buddhadāsa and his two sons (Nos. 61-63) are given a reign of 92/3 years! According to the Rājāvaliya they even reigned 142 years! These are fantastic figures. Possibly my theory may throw a new light on 37. 100. Suppose we assume that Sirimeghavaṇṇa's reign after 362 A. D. was considerably shorter, that perhaps a great part of the 27/8 years allotted to it falls within the period when he was reigning along with Mahāsena or as his rival, we might perhaps follow the reading of the MSS. S. 5, 6, 7 *bhāta* (not *bhātu*) *tassa kaniṭṭhako* according to which we should translate: "his youngest brother, Jeṭṭhatissa, still a youth, hereupon raised the umbrella of dominion in Laṅkā." *It is in any case only very reluctantly that I have decided to* depart from the original text.

Be that as it may, if the Chinese notices and the hypothesis I have built on them are right, we must shorten the period between Mahāsena's death and that of Mahānāma by 60 to 61 years and this gives us for Mahānāma's death *the* year 430 or 431 A. D. Mahānāma, if we keep to the 22 years ascribed to him by tradition, would have reigned from 409 —431 A. D.

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without seeking a solution. Cf. also J. M. [illegible], JRAS C. B. [illegible] No. [illegible] ([illegible]) p. 119

It is impossible to determine individually how the reigns of Mahānāma's predecessors were distributed. I pointed out above that we might already begin shortening these with Sirimeghavaṇṇa. Upatissa with his 42 years may be discarded entirely, it seems to me, or at least but a very small portion of his reign be allowed to stand. He may be purely fictitious or perhaps a prince who reigned along with his father and either never came to the throne himself or if so, only for a short period. Here above all when the transition from the one era to the other had been effected, there set in those efforts to adjust the balance by manipulation of the figures.

There is one thing I should like finally to point out. If we go back for the change of the era to Sirimeghavaṇṇa and his immediate successors there is an inherent probability in this. It coincides with the transition from the Mahāvaṃsa to the Cūlavaṃsa. That we have here a significant breach in the history of Ceylon, a powerful reaction in favour of the Theravāda after a period of decline can scarcely be disputed.

LIST OF SINHALESE KINGS

I have made my own list of the kings of the Culavaṃsa, but have added WICKREMASINGHE's figures in brackets Where former lists differ from my own this has also been indicated in brackets Thus for instance, (166 Vijayabāhu VI) means that this king (Cūlavs ed II 656 f) is wanting in my list — Udaya I (Dappula II) means that the king whom I call Udaya I appears elsewhere as Dappula II

ABBREVIATIONS

M = Mahāvaṃsa or from No 59 onwards Cūlavaṃsa
Rv = Rājāvaliya (published and translated by B GUNASEKARA)
Pv = Pūjāvaliya (A Contribution to the History of Ceylon, extracted from the Pujāvaliya, Colombo 1893)
Ns Nikāyasaṃgrahaya (ed WICKREMASINGHE)
Rr Rājaratnākaraya (ed SATTHANANDA, Colombo 1887)
Nar = Narendracaritāvalokanapradīpikā as quoted by WICKREMASINGHE

Figures in italics denote that we have to do with fictitious numbers, whereas the others rest on more or less probable calculation Figures in bold type are single traditional dates and chiefly those from non-Sinhalese sources or from inscriptions which serve to confirm the chronology of the Mahāvaṃsa

The figures in the last column refer to the notes following the list of the kings.

	Length of reign M.	Rv.	Pv.	Date		Notes
	1. Mahāvaṃsa					
1. Vijaya	38	38	38	*483–445* B.C.		1
Interregnum	1	. . .	1	*445–444*		
2. Paṇḍuvāsudeva	30	32	30	*444–414*		
3. Abhaya	20	22	20	*414–394*		
Interregnum	17			*394–307*		
4. Paṇḍukābhaya	70	70	70			
(5. Gaṇatissa)	. . .	40 — —	. . .			
6. Muṭasiva	60 — —	60 — —	60 — —	*307–247*		
7. Devānampiyatissa	40 — —	40 — —	40 — —	247–207	247	2
8. Uttiya	10 — —	?	10 — —	*207–197*		
9. Mahāsiva	10 — —	?	10 — —	*197–187*		
10. Sūratissa[1]	10 — —	10 — —	10 — —	*187–177*		
11. Sena 12. Guttika	22 — —	22 — —	22 — —	*177–155*		
13. Asela[2]	10 — —	10 — —	10 — —	*155–145*		
14. Eḷāra	44 — —	44 — —	44 — —	*145*–101		
15. Duṭṭhagāmaṇī	24 — —	24 — —	24 — —	101–77		
16. Saddhātissa	18 — —	37 — —	18 — —	77–59		
17. Thūlathana	— 1 10	1 8 —	1 — 10	59		
18. Lañjatissa[3]	9 — 15	39 — —	9 8 15	59–50		
19. Khallāṭanāga	6 — —	. . .	6 — —	50–43		
20. Vaṭṭagāmaṇī	— 5 —	— 5 —	— 5 —	43	43	
21. Pulahattha 22. Bāhiya 23. Panayamāra 24. Piḷayamāra 25. Dāṭhika	14 7 —	14 — —	3 7 —	43–29		
(20.) Vaṭṭagāmaṇī	12 — —	12 — —	12 — —	29–17		3
26. Mahācūḷīmahātissa	14 — —	50 — —	14 — —	17–3		
27. Coranāga	12 — —	. . .	12 — —	3 B. C. — 9 A. D.		4
28. Tissa	3 — —	3 — —	3 — —	9–12 A. D.		

1) Rv. mentions two sons of Devānampiyatissa, 1) Sūratissa, 2) Upatissa each of whom reigned 10 years. It then says that in the days of King Uttiya two usurpers seized the power and reigned 22 years.

2) As to the chronological difficulties regarding Asela see Wickr. p. 5, n. 1.

3) Rv. calls the successor of Tulnā King Lāmiṇitissa who had slain him and reigned 39 years. Then it passes on the Vaḷagambāhu. The Pv. also calls Tul's successor Lāmāṇitis.

	Length of reign			Date	Notes
	M.	Rv.	Pr.		
29. Anulā	4 3 —	3 4 —	5 2 —	12—16 A. D.	
30. Kuṭakaṇṇatissa	22 — —	22 — —	22 — —	16—38	
31. Bhātikābhaya	28 — —	18 — —	18 — —	38—66	
32. Mahādāṭhikamahānāga	12 — —	12 — —	12 — —	67—79	
33. Āmaṇḍagāmaṇī	9 8 —	9 — —	9 8 —	79—89	
34. Kaṇirajānutissa	3 — —	. .	3 — —	89—92	
35. Cūlābhaya	1 — —	. .	1 — —	92—93	
36. Sīvalī	— 4 —	. . .	— 4 —	93	
37. Iḷanāga[1]	6 — —	. . .	6 — —	93—102	
38. Candamukhasiva	8 7 —	.	8 7 —	103—112	
39. Yasalālakatissa	7 8 —	. .	7 8 —	112—120	
40. Subharāja	6 — —	.	6 — —	120—126	
41. Vasabha	44 — —	44 — —	44 —	127—171	
42. Vaṅkanāsikatissa	3 — —	3 — —	3 — —	171—174	
43. Gajabāhugāmaṇī	22 — —	24 — —	22 — —	174—196	
44. Mahallanāga	6 — —	6 — —	6 — —	196—203	
45. Bhātikatissa	24 — —	24 — —	24 — —	203—227	
46. Kaniṭṭhatissa	18 — —		18 — —	227—245	
47. Khujjanāga[2]	2 — —		2 — —	246—248	
48. Kuñcanāga	1 — —	20 —	1 — —	248—249	
49. Sirināga I	19 — —	.	19 —	249—268	
50. Vohārikatissa	22 — —	22 — —	22 —	269—291	
51. Abhayanāga	8 — —	2 — —	8 — —	291—299	
52. Sirināga II	2 — —	3 — —	2 — —	300—302	
53. Vijayakumāra	1 — —	6 — —	1 — —	302—303	
54. Saṃghatissa	4 — —	4 — —	4 — —	303—307	
55. Sirisaṃghabodhi	2 — —	?	2 — —	307—309	
56. Goṭhābhaya	13	13 — —	13 — —	309—322	
57. Jeṭṭhatissa I	10 —	10 —	10 — —	323—333	
58. Mahāsena	27 —	24 — —	27 —	334—361/2 362	5

[1] Wickremasinghe is, I think, wrong when he says on p. 8 that I had overlooked the fact that Iḷanāga was deposed in the first year of his reign by the Lambakaṇṇas. I inserted the three years (Mhvs. 35. 27) [illegible] of the Lambakaṇṇas, Mhvs. Transl. p. [illegible] last line, as "interregnum". When W. takes the round figure of 10 years for the interregnum of Iḷanāga's reign I can only approve.

[2] According to [illegible] Bhātikatissa's successors were: 1) [illegible] (2) years; 2) Vohārika (22 years); 3) Abhaya (2 years). Then follows No. [illegible] [illegible] 2 years.

	Length of reign M.			Rv.			Pv.			Date		Notes
2. Cūlavaṃsa												
1. (59.) Sirimeghavaṇṇa	28 c	—	—	28	—	—	28	—	—			6
2. (60.) Jeṭṭhatissa II.	9	—	—	10	—	—	9	—	—			
3. (61.) Buddhadāsa	29 c	—	—	30	—	—	29	—	—	362—409	412	7
4. (62.) Upatissa I.	42	—	—	42	—	—	42	—	—			
5. (63.) Mahānāma	22	—	—	20	—	—	22	—	—	409—431	428	8
6. (64.) Sotthisena	—	—	1	—	—	1	—	—	1	431		
7. (65.) Chattagāhaka	1 c	—	—	1	—	—	1	—	—	431—432		
8. (66.) Mittasena	1	—	—	6	—	—	1	—	—	432—433		
9. (67.) Paṇḍu[1]												
10. (68.) Pariṇda												
11. (69.) Khuddapārinda	27	—	—	. . .			27	—	—	433—460		
12. (70.) Tīritara												
13. (71.) Dāṭhiya												
14. (72.) Pīṭhiya												
15. (73.) Dhātusena[2]	18	—	—	18	—	—	18	—	—	460—478		
16. (74.) Kassapa I.[2]	18 c	—	—	18	—	—	18	—	—	478—496		
17. (75.) Moggallāna I.	18 c	—	—	18	—	—	18	—	—	496—513		
18. (76.) Kumāradhātusena	9 c	—	—	9	—	—	9	—	—	513—522	515	9
19. (77.) Kittisena[3]	—	9	—	9	—	—	—	9	—	522		
20. (78.) Sīva I.	—	—	25	25	—	—	—	—	25	522		
21. (79.) Upatissa II.[4]	1	6	—	1	10	—	1	6	—	522—524		
22. (80.) Silākāla	13 c	—	—	13	—	—	13	—	—	524—537	527	10, 11
23. (81.) Dāṭhāpabhuti	—	6	6	—	6	—	—	6	—	537		
24. (82.) Moggallāna II.	20 c	—	—	20	—	—	20	—	—	537—556		
25. (83.) Kittisirimegha	—	—	19	19	—	—	19	—	—	556		

[1]) For Nos. 9—14 (67—72) Rv. has also 27 years.

[2]) Rr. has the same number of years.

[3]) I do not think that Wickr. is right when he follows Rv. in giving 9 years instead of nine months to No. 19 (77). There are other instances of the Sinhalese sources giving years instead of the months or days of the Mhvs. (No. 20, 25, 36), people being accustomed to reckon by years. We have no example of the reverse. Moreover with regard to No. 19 (77) Pv. agrees with the Mhvs. It seems to me that it is only in cases where both Pv. and Rv. together are against the Mhvs. that weight attaches to their statements. Wickr.'s reference to the reading *vassamhi* in S 5 is no help. It is so isolated in comparison with the other MSS. that it is clearly a mere slip of the scribe.

[4]) According to Nar. 2 y. 6 m.

	Length of reign			Date		Notes
	M	Rv.	Pv			
26 (84a) Mahānāga	3c — —	3 — —	3 — —	556–559		
— (84b) Lāmāni Singānā		9 — —	9 — —	559–568		
27. (85) Aggabodhi I	34c — —	30 — —	34 — —	568–601		
28 (86) Aggabodhi II	10c — —	10 — —	10 — —	601–611	609	12
29 (87) Saṃghatissa		— 2 —	— 2 —	611		
30 (88) Moggallāna III	6 — —	6 — —	6 — —	611–617		
31 (89) Silāmeghavaṇṇa	9 —	9 — —	9 — —	617–626		
32 (90) Aggabodhi III SSB	16c — —	16 — —	16 — —	626–641		
33 (91) Jeṭṭhatissa III		— 5 —	— 5 —			
Aggabodhi IV		. .	. .			
34 (92) Dāṭhopatissa I		12 — —	12 — —			
35 (93) Kassapa II	9 — —	9 — —	9 —	641–650		
36 (94) Dappula I [1]	— — 7	10 — —	3 3 —	650		
37. (95) Dāṭhopatissa II	9c — —	9 — —	9 — —	650–658		13
38 (96) Aggabodhi IV, SSB	16c — —	16 — —	16 — —	658–674		
39 (97) Datta [2]	2 — —	10 — —	2 — —	674–676		
40 (98) Hatthadāṭha	— 6 —	— 6 —	— 6 —	676		
41 (99) Mānavamma	. .	35 — —	35 — —	676–711		
42. (100) Aggabodhi V	6 — —	6 — —	6 — —	711–717		
43 (101) Kassapa III		7 — —	7 — —	717–724	718	14
44 (102) Mahinda I	3 — —	3 — —	3 —	724–727		
45 (103) Aggabodhi VI SMV	40c —	40 —	40 — —	727–766	742 6	15
46 (104) Aggabodhi VII	6 — —	6 — —	6 — —	766–772		
47. (105) Mahinda II SMV	20 —	20 —	20 — —	772–792		
48 (106) Udaya I (Dappula II)	5 — —	5 — —	5 — —	792–797		
49 (107) Mahinda III SMV	4 — —	7 — —	4 —	797–801		
50 (108) Aggabodhi VIII	11 — —	11 —	11 — —	801–812		
51 (109) Dappula II (III)	16 — —	12 —	16 — —	812–828		
52 (110) Aggabodhi IX	3 — —	.	3 — —	828–831		
53 (111) Sena I SMV	20 — —		20 — —	831–851		
54 (112) Sena II	35c —	35 —	35 —	851–885		
55 (113) Udaya II (I)	11 —	40 —	11 — —	885–896		
56 (114) Kassapa IV SSB	17 — —	.	17 — —	896–913		16
57 (115) Kassapa V SMV	10c —	6 — —	6 —	913–923	918 2	17
58 (116) Dappula III (IV)	— 7 —	— 7 —	— 7	923		
59 (117) Dappula IV (V) SMV	12c —	12 — —	12 — —	923–934		

[1] The Mhvs. does not record the three years' reign in Lankā.
[2] According to Nar. No 39 (97) reigned 2 y. 6 m.

	Length of reign			Date	
	M.	Rv.	Pv.		
85 (144) Līlāvatī [1]	3 — —	3 — —	3 — —	1197—1200	
86 (145) Sāhasamalla	2 — —	9 — —	2 — —	1200—1202	1200 [illegible]
87 (146) Kalyāṇavatī [2]	6 — —	6 — —	6 — —	1202—1208	
88 (147) Dhammāsoka	1 — —	6 — —	1 — —	1208—1209	
89 (148) Anīkanga	— — 17	— — 17	— — 17	1209	
Līlāvatī [1]	1 — —	1 — —	1 — —	1209—1210	
90 (149) Lokissara (II)	— 9 —	— 5 —	— 5 —	1210—1211	
Līlāvatī [1]	— 7 —	— 4 —	— 7 —	1211	
91 (150) Parakkamapaṇḍu II	3 — —	3 — —	3 — —	1211—1214	
92 (151) Māgha	21 — —	19 — —	21 — —	1214—1235	
93 (152) Vijayabāhu III	4 — —	24 — —	24 — —	1232—1236	
94 (153) Parakkamabāhu II	35 — —	32 — —	32 — —	1236—1271	1236 [illegible]
95 (154) Vijayabāhu IV	2 — —			1271—1273	
96 (155) Bhuvanekabāhu I	11 —			1273—1284	1253 [illegible]
97 (156) Parakkamabāhu III				*1284—1291*	
98 (157) Bhuvanekabāhu II [3]				*1291—1302*	
99 (158) Parakkamabāhu IV [4]				*1302—131[illegible]*	
100 (159) Bhuvanekabāhu III					
101 (160) Vijayabāhu V					
102 (161) Bhuvanekabāhu IV				1346—1353	1350 [illegible]
103 (162) Parakkamabāhu V				1348-1360	1351 [illegible]
104 (163) Vikkamabāhu V (III)				1347—1375	1360 [illegible]
105 (164) Bhuvanekabāhu V	20			1360—1391	1370 [illegible]
106 (165) Vīrabāhu II				1391—1397	1391 [illegible]
(166 Vijayabāhu VI)					1406—1411
(167 Parakkamabāhu)					
107 (168) Parakkamabāhu VI	52 —	52 — —		1410—1462	[illegible]
5811					
108 (169) Jayabāhu II				1462—1473	
109 (170) Bhuvanekabāhu VI	7 — —	7 —		1473—1480	1472 [illegible]
110 (171) Parakkamabāhu VII				1480—1484	
111 (172) Parakkamabāhu VIII		20 — —		1484—1514	
(173 Parakkamabāhu IX)		22		1506—1529	

[1] The first time Līlāvatī reigned along with Kitti, the second time with Vikkanta-camūnakka, finally alone.

[2] Along with [illegible] Camūpati.

[3] Reigned according to Rv. 24 years. [illegible]

[4] [illegible] A.D.

	Length of reign M.	Rv.	Pv.	Date	Notes
112. (174.) VijayabāhuVI.(VII.)	. . .	18? — —	. . .	1509 – 1521	36
113. (175.) BhuvanekabāhuVII.	. . .	21 — —	. . .	1521 – 1550	37
114. (175 d) Vīravikkama[1])	. . .	45? — —	. . .	1542 – ?	38
115. (175 b) Māyādhanu[1])	. . .	70 — —	. . .	1521 – 1581	39
(176. Dharmapāla)	. . .	. . .	. . .	1551 – 1597	
116. (177.) Rājasīha I.	. . .	. . .	. . .	1581 – 1593	
117. (178.) Vimaladhamma-suriya I.	. . .	12 — —	. . .	1592 – 1604	
118. (179.) Senāratana	7 — —	25 — —	. . .	1604 – 1635	
119. (180.) Rājasīha II.	52 — —	. . .	. . .	1635 – 1687	
120. (181.) Vimaladhamma-suriya II.	22 — —	. . .	. . .	1687 – 1707	
121. (182.) Vīraparakkama-narindasīha	33 — —	. . .	. . .	1707 – 1739	
122. (183.) Sirivijayarājasīha	8 — —	. . .	. . .	1739 – 1747	
123. (184.) Kittisirirājasīha	35c — —	. . .	. . .	1747 – 1782	40
124. (185.) Sirirājādhirājasīha	18 — —	. . .	. . .	1780 – 1798	
125. (186) Sirivikkamarājasīha	18 — —	. . .	. . .	1798 – 1815	

[1]) In the middle of the 16 th century a number of princes reigned at the same time in different parts of the Island. The most eminent of these was Māyādhanu, the Māyādunne of Rv. The Vīrakkama of Mhvs. 92. 6 is probably identical with Kumāra Baṇḍāra (Rv.). In addition to these Jayavīra Baṇḍāra who wielded power in the Highlands and Rājasīha or Rayigam Baṇḍāra are mentioned as contemporaries.

Residences

1. Mahāvaṃsa: Nr. 1: Tambapaṇṇī. — Nr. 2, 3: Upatissagāma (10. 52). — Nr. 4—58: Anurādhapura.
2. Cūlavaṃsa: Nr. 1 (59)—15 (73): Anurādhapura. — Nr. 16 (74): Sīhagiri. — Nr. 17 (75)—63 (121): Anurādhapura [Pulatthinagara temporary residence of Nr. 46 (104) and Nr. 53 (111); Pulatthinagara and Rohaṇa of Nr. 65 (123)]. — Nr. 67 (125)—73 b (132): Rohaṇa. — Nr. 74 (133)—92 (151): Pulatthinagara. — Nr. 93 (152): Jambuddoṇī. — Nr. 94 (153): Jambuddoṇī (Pulatthinagara 88. 29 ff.). — Nr. 95 (154): Pulatthinagara. — Nr. 96 (155): Jambuddoṇī (Subhagiri 90. 42). — Nr. 97 (156): Pulatthinagara (90. 56). — Nr. 98 (157) —101 (160): Hatthigiripura. — Nr. 102 (161)—104 (163): Gaṅgāsiripura. — Nr. 105 (164)—113 (175) Jayavaḍḍhana. — Nr. 114 (175 d): Sirivaḍḍhana. — Nr. 115 (175 b)—116 (177): Sītāvaka. · Nr. 117 (178) -125 (186): Sirivaḍḍhana.

NOTES

1. The first traditional synchronism is that of the landing of Vijaya on the Island with the Nirvana of Buddha. Mhvs. 6. 47, Dip. 9. 40. It makes the impression of having been purposely invented that the event might thereby have a greater significance. But it would be a mistake if for that reason we were to regard as inventions those single dates referring to later kings (Devānampiyatissa and Vaṭṭagāmaṇi). For here we start not from Vijaya but only from the Nirvana. But the reigns of the kings between Vijaya and Devānampiyatissa seem to have been manipulated in order to obtain the synchronism Vijaya-Nirvana.

2. A seemingly ancient tradition makes Devānampiyatissa a contemporary[1] of the Maurya king Asoka. There is no urgent reason for doubting the fact. According to Dip. 17. 78, Devānampiyatissa was consecrated as king[2] 236 years (that is in the 237th year) after the Nirvana. This figure corresponds to the sum of the years which according to Dip. and Mhvs. had elapsed since Vijaya. If we take the date arrived at by Fleet for Buddha's death — 483 B.C. we get the year 247/6 B.C. as Devānampiyatissa's coronation year and the fact of his being a contemporary of Asoka is confirmed.

3. According to Ns., p. 10[14] Valagam Aba came to the throne 439 y. 9 m. 10 d. after the Nirvana[3]. This gives us 44 B.C. This agrees with the statement of Mhvs. 33. 80 f. as

[1] For further details of my transl. Mhvs., [illegible]
[2] Also in Ns., p. 2[19]
[3] cf. also [illegible]

to the foundation of the Abhaya-vihāra[1]. According to the statement in Mhvs. the foundation took place 217 y. 10 m. 10 d. after that of the Mahāvihāra the date of which is, according to FLEET, in May 246. Therefore the Abhayagiri-vihāra was founded in March 28 B. C., after Vaṭṭagāmaṇī had had regained the kingdom.

4. According to Rv. a famine called *bämiṇi-sāya* took place under Coranāga and lasted three years. This is said to have coincided with the beginning of the Saka era 78 A. D. = 622 A. B. The statement cannot be reconciled with the other events of the chronology. It would seem that the tradition about this famine was uncertain, for it is placed by Pv. 19[3] in the reign of Vaṭṭagāmaṇī.

5. For the end of the reign of Mahāsena and therewith of the so-called Great Dynasty Rv. and Rr. agree in giving 844 y. (? Pv. 846) 9 m. 25 d. after the Nirvana. Ns. 14[10] reckons the beginning of the reign as 818 A. B., so that with a reign of 27 years the end would fall in 845 A. B. This[2] seems to me in fact one of those single dates which rest on a sure traditional basis. This is also easy to understand. The tradition was that of the Bhikkhus of the Mahāvihāra and for them the death of Mahāsena meant the end of a period of persecution and the beginning of a new period of prosperity. In Mhvs. trsl. p. XXXVIII I have calculated the year of Mahāsena's death as 352 A. D. The difference between it and that of Wickr. and S. can be adjusted by assuming that the round numbers of a reign usually include some extra months.

6. I refer the reader to the Chinese account mentioned on p. V which makes Sirimeghavaṇṇa a contemporary of the Indian king Samudragupta (326–375 A. D.).

7. Fa-hian comes to Ceylon 411–412 A. D. A thera mentioned by him is perhaps identical with the Mahādhammakathin named in Mhvs. 37. 175 (cf. note to the passage) as living

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[1] See Mhvs. transl., p. XXXIV f.

[2] Cf. also SENAVERATNE, JRAS. C. B. XXIII, No. 67 (1914), p. 216.

under Buddhadāsa (Ayrton, JRAS 1911, p. 1142). Of course this thera may have survived Buddhadāsa, as the chronology seems to indicate.

8. For Mahānāma's reign Chinese sources furnish us with an exact date A. D. 428. See above p. V ff. For the arrival of Buddhaghosa in the reign of Mahānāma tradition furnishes us with a date which assuming 544/3 as the year of the Nirvana, yields 412/3 A. D.

9. For Kumāradhātusena's (Kumārdās) reign a Chinese notice mentioned by Tennent[1] will serve. It says: "In the year 515 on the occasion of Kumara Das raising the chatta, an envoy was despatched with tribute to China." Unfortunately Tennent does not state whether the name of the Sinhalese king is mentioned in the Chinese account. Possibly it is a deduction of his own. At any rate according to my own calculation, the year 515 would fall in the beginning of the reign of Kumāradhātusena.

10. A further Chinese notice quoted by L. (see p. 91 f.) offers difficulties. According to this, an embassy of the Sinhalese king Kia-che Kia-lo-ho-li-ya brought tribute to the Chinese Court in the year 527 A. D. As a rule Kia-che is the transcription of the name Kassapa. But it is impossible that this could be Kassapa I since he reigned before Kumāradhātusena (see note 9). S. Lévi has already pointed out that the second name Kia-lo-ho-li-ya might refer to Silākāla (Ambaherana Salameran). It should be noted too, that Silākāla was the son-in-law of Upatissa II (III) and that according to Mhvs 41. 8 ff., this king had a son called Kassapa who was Silākāla's most dangerous rival. It might therefore be assumed that the Chinese account had confused these two persons or that the Sinhalese tradition had made out of one Kassapa Silākāla two individuals.

11. For Silākāla we have one more single date [illegible] drawn in the Nep. p. 17[illegible] 1085 A. B. = 541/5 A. D. [illegible]

[1] [illegible]

ing to Wickr. this date refers to the introduction of the Vetulla Canon (*dhammadhātu*)[1] which according to Ns., Rr. and Mhvs., took place in the twelfth year of the king's reign. This does not quite agree with our chronology, for according to Ns. the beginning of Silākāla's reign would fall in 532/3 A. D. (instead of 524)[2]. If we might assume an error in the tradition and read 1080 instead of 1088 A. B. there would be complete agreement.

12. According to Mhvs. 42. 44 ff., the king of Kaliṅga came to Ceylon in the reign of Aggabodhi II. and entered the Order under the guidance of the Thera Jotipāḷa. According to H. W. Codrington (HC. p. 35, 51) this king of Kaliṅga had been driven out by Pulakeśin II. of the Cālukya dynasty who had seized the kingdom of Kaliṅga. This took place according to Jouveau-Dubreuil, 609 A. D. This year must therefore fall within the reign of Aggabodhi II.

13. According to Mhvs. 47. 33 ff., Mānavamma tries in vain to wrest the dominion over Ceylon from King Dāṭhopatissa II. He is helped in this by his friend Narasīha at whose court in Jambudīpa he had taken refuge. According to H. p. 557, this is the Pallava king Narasiṃhavarman I. who reigned 630–668 A. D. This enables us to fix an approximate date for Dāṭhopatisa II.

14. From Chinese sources (L.) we know that in the y. 718/9 a Chinese pilgrim Vajrabodhi visited Ceylòn and was received with honour by King Chi-li Chi-lo. The name of the king as it is given here, may very well be an abbreviation of Siri-Silāmegha(vaṇṇa). L. suggests Mānavamma, who also had the biruda of Silāmegha. Ayrton (Ceylon Notes and Queries II, Jan. 1914, p. xxvii ff.) quite rightly objects to this for chronological reasons. But his own identification with Aggabodhi VI. also offers difficulties with my calculation as well as with that of Wickr and S. I suggest Kassapa III, No. 43 (101).

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[1] See my transl. Cūlavs. I, note to 41. 37.

[2] According to Rr. 1088 A. B. = 832 (sic!) after the introduction of Buddha's doctrine, was the date for Silākāla's ascent of the throne.

As we know, the biruda of Silāmegha alternates with that of Sirisamghabodhi Since Kassapa III was the second predecessor of Aggabodhi VI who was certainly called Silāmegha (Mhvs 48 42), he is almost sure to have had the same surname, though this may not be expressly stated All we know of him is that he was a very pious prince (Mhvs 48 20 ff)

15 There is no difficulty about the two embassies of King Chi-lo-mi-kia to the Chinese Court in the years 742 and 746 That king was Aggabodhi VI Silāmegha, No 45 (103)

16 Inscriptions of the 1st and 16th *years (according to* my calculation therefore 896, 912) of the reign of Kassapa IV, No 56 (114) in Wickremasinghe, EZ II 9 ff, I 200 ff, H C P Bell, Anurādhapura, 7th *Progress* Report 1891 (= S P xiii 1896) p 60

17 According to Mhvs 52 70 ff, Kassapa V undertakes with the Pāṇḍyas an expedition against the Colas. It is unsuccessful There is evidently an allusion to this (H p 525 f) in the Udayendiram inscription of the 15th year of the Cola king Parāntaka I = 921 2 In it he boasts *of his victory* over the Pāṇḍyas and over an army come from Lankā In an inscription, discussed by Rai Bahadur Venkayya, of the 12th *year of* the same *king's reign* this *twofold success is* also mentioned

18 Under Udaya IV (III) No 62 (120), there was an incursion of the Colas into Ceylon who wished to seize the regalia of the Paṇḍya king deposited there under Dappula IV (V) (Mhvs 53 9, 40 ff) Anurādhapura was taken it is true, but the main object was not attained, as Udaya had taken the treasures to Rohaṇa for safety According to H 524 f this event took place in the last year of the reign of Parāntaka I, and R B Venkayya has proved that it is only in his latest inscriptions of 943 4 to 947 8 that this king calls himself ' Conqueror of Ceylon '

19 According to Mhvs 54 11 ff the troops of the Vallabha king made an unsuccessful incursion into Ceylon under Ma-

hinda IV. No. 64 (122). Codrington (HC. p. 39, 53) supposes this to be the Cola prince Parāntaka II. whose general was defeated in 960. This date therefore falls in the reign of No. 64 (122).

20. Of Mahinda V. No. 66 (124) it is related in Mhvs. 55. 16 that in the 36th year of his reign the Coḷas carried off him, his queen and all his treasure to India. H. 522 ff. assumes that this king was Rājendra-Coḷa who boasts of having captured the crowns of the king and of the queens of Ceylon. He first mentions the conquest of Ceylon in 1017/8 but not in the inscriptions of the foregoing year. The year 1017 is therefore that of Mahinda's capture.

21. The Coḷa king Rājādhirājadeva relates (H. 520 f.) in an inscription of the year 1046 that he had deprived 4 kings of Ceylon of their crowns: a) Vikramabāhu, b) Vikramapāṇḍya, c) Vīraśalāmegha and d) Śrīvallabhamadanarāja. This clearly refers to events related in Mhvs. 56. Here the following kings are mentioned as being at war with the Coḷas: 1) Vikkamabāhu, No. 67 (125) = a[1], 2) Kitti, 3) Mahālānakitti, 4) Vikkamapaṇḍu = b, 5) Jagatīpāla, 6) Parakkama. Of 3, 5, and 6 it is distinctly stated that they were slain in battle with the Coḷas, of 3 it is said besides that his crown fell as booty to the Damiḷas. Nos. 1 and 4 however, whose names are clearly recognizable in Rājādhirāja's inscription, ended otherwise: No. 1 died of a disease, No. 4 in combat with No. 5. Still their crowns may have been among the booty. At any rate the year 1046 falls in that period; the events may have reached their conclusion about 1050.

22. For Vijayabāhu I. No. 74 (133) to Parakkamabāhu I. No. 78 (137) I refer the reader to Wickremasinghe's excellent treatment of the subject in EZ. I, p. 122 ff. and II. 205 ff.

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[1] I should now prefer to read in Mhvs. 56. 6 *Devanagaraṃ* instead of *d°* and translate "he betook himself to Devanagara (Dondra) and entered the company of the gods."

23. For Parakkamabāhu's campaign against Rāmañña (Mhvs 76 10 ff) cf H. C P BELL, Rep on the Kegalla Dist, p 73 ff. It took place in the 12th year of his reign. The Rāmañña prince Bhuvanāditta named in the Devanagala inscription, is identified by BELL with the king Narabaditsi-tsithu who reigned 1167—1204 (PHAYRE, History of Burma, p 50, 281, 289).

24. The coronation day of Sāhasamalla ist the earliest absolutely certain date in Sinhalese history. In the Polonnaruva inscription of this king (EZ. II, p 219 ff) the date given for the event is Wednesday (*badā*), the 12th day of the light half of the month Binera (August-Sept.), after the expiration of 1743 y, 3 m. and 27 days of the Buddha era. FLEET (JRAS. 1909, p 327, 331) has calculated the date as Wednesday, 23rd August, 1200 A D

25 According to the Attanagaluvamsa Parakkamabāhu II, No 94 (153), came to the throne in the year 1824 after the Sambodhi = 1779 A. B = 1235 6 A D, according to S. 155 = 1296 A D (reckoned from 483 B C, not from 543 B C, as the year of the Nirvana)

26 According to Mhvs 90 43 ff the Tooth Relic came in the reign of Bhuvanekabāhu I, No 96 (155), into the possession of the Pāṇḍya king Kulasekhara This king reigned (H) 1268—1308 A D Under Bhuvanekabāhu's successor Parakkamabāhu III the relic is restored by friendly negotiation. CODRINGTON (JRAS. C. B xxviii, No 72, 1919, p 82 ff) refers to Maqrizi's account of a Sinhalese embassy to the Egyptian Court in the year 1283 A D. and identifies the name of the Sinhalese king mentioned in the account with that of Bhuvanekabāhu I

27 For Bhuvanekabāhu IV, No 102 (161), the Lankātilaka inscription is important. See B. GUNASEKARA, JRAS. C B X, No 34 (1887) p 83 ff, H. C P. BELL, Kegalla Dist, p 92, WICKR 29 f It gives Saka 1261 = 1312 A D. as the year of his ascent of the throne According to Mhvs. 90. 108 (also Ns, Nar) 1894 A B = 1350/1 was the 4th year of his reign,

the beginning of the reign therefore 1346/7. The difference is probably due to the fact that his appointment as yuvarāja took place in the y. 1342, this event being often reckoned as the beginning of the reign. According to CODRINGTON (HC. p. 83) No. 102 (161) reigned at least until 1353/4.

28. Cf. the preceding note also for Parakkamabāhu V., No. 103 (162). According to the Hapugastenne inscription (JRAS. C. B. XXII, No. 65, 1912, p. 362) the 11 th year of his reign was = Śaka 1281 expired = 1359/60 A. D. The first year of his reign would be accordingly Śaka 1270 = 1348/9 A. D. But at that time No. 102 (161) was reigning and his successor probably yuvarāja. In the Vegiri-devale inscription (WICKR.) Parakkamabāhu V. in 1351/2 still calls himself āpā.

29. The Vigulavatta inscription (H. C. P. BELL, Kégalla Dist., p. 78) gives Śaka 1282 = 1360/1 A. D. as the 4 th year of the reign of Vikkamabāhu IV., (III.) No. 104 (163). His reign would accordingly have begun in Śaka 1278 = 1356/7 A. D. This agrees with the Niyamgampāya inscription (WICKR. 31) which gives the 17 th year of his reign as 1916 A. B. = 1373/4 A. D.

30. For Bhuvanekabāhu V., No. 105 (164), we have several dates. Cf. S. 174 f., WICKR. 33 f. The most important are: a) according to Ns. 1929 A. B. = 1385/6 A. D. was the 14 th year of his reign which makes 1371/2 that of his coronation. — b) according to Mhvs. 91. 13 (Ns. also) he is succeeded after 20 years (thus in 1391) by Vīrabāhu. — c) according to the Vegiri-devale inscription, Bh. V. made an endowment in the 30 th year of his reign. He must therefore have lived at least 10 years after 1391 and claimed the royal dignity. Mhvs. 91. 13 would not agree with this if we were to assume the reading *kaleko* (not *sālcko* with Col. Ed.); for the passage would then state that only after his (i. e. Bhuvanekabāhu's) death (*niṭṭhite kāle*) Vīrabāhu of the Alakeśvara family, seized the power.

31. Ns. 30[30] Council under the leadership of Dhammakitti 1939 A. B. expired = 1396 A. D.

32. Vijayabāhu VI., No. (166), is not mentioned in the Mhvs. The chronicle ignoring the tragic end of the Alagakkonāras,

jumps over to Parakkama VI I refer the reader to the note to 91 3 of my translation Dates according to L (JRAS C B xxiv, No 68, 1915–6, p 96 ff) 1405, arrival of the Chinese Tcheng-houo in Ceylon, 1409 Tcheng-houo comes again to Ceylon and carries the king (No 166) captive to China The king is set free again in 1411 or 1412, but murdered the night after his return

33 For Parakkamabāhu VI, No 107 (168), we have again several dates The most important are the following a) ascent of the throne according to Mhvs 91 15 as well as the inscription of Embekke-devale (H C P Bell, Ceylon Notes and Queries, viii, Dec 1916, p cxxxi ff) 1953 A B = 1409/10 A D) (according to other sources and to Wickr 2 years or 5 years later) — b) Chinese accounts (in Tennent, Ceylon I, p 604), that in the year 1459 A D a king of Ceylon Pu-la-ko-ma Ba-zae La-cha had for the last time sent tribute to China The king was evidently No. 107 (168) In the years 1416 and 1421 A D it is even related that the King of Ceylon brought the tribute in person

34 With regard to the date for Bhuvanekabāhu VI, No 109 (170), the Kalyani inscription of King Rāmādhipati of Pegu is important in that it mentions his embassy to king Bhuvanekabāhu, the son of Parakkamabāhu, in the Śaka year 837[1] = 2019 A B = 1476 A D Cf Codrington, HC p 93, 100, Taw Sein Ko, Indian Antiquary xxii, 1893, p 11 ff, 29 ff &c

35 According to the Kelaniya inscription (AIC No 162) Parakkamabāhu IX, No (173), ascended the throne in 2051 A B[2] = 1507/8 A D The 12 th year of his reign fell according to the Munessaram Sannasa, in 2060 A B, giving 1504 5 for his ascent of the throne, thus a difference of three years

36 According to the Dondra inscription (H C P Bell, Kegalla Dist p 85 f) the Śaka year 1432 = 1510 A D fell in the year after the 4 th year of the reign of King Vijayabāhu VI,

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[1] Thus according to the modern Burmese era which begins in March 639 A D See C Mabel Duff, Chronology of India, p 51

[2] Wickr 12 would prefer to read 2049 (*ek un panas* instead of *ek panas*) This would give 1505/6 A D

No. 112 (174), his ascent of the throne would fall accordingly in 1505 A. D.

37. P. E. Pieris, The Date of Bhuvaneka Bāhu VII. (JRAS. C. B. xxii, No. 65, 1912, p. 267 ff.) comes to the conclusion that No. 113 (175) reigned 1521–1551 A. D.

38. Vīravikkama, No. 164 (175 d), came to the throne (according to Mhvs. 92. 6) 2085 A. B. = 1541/2 A. D.

39. Māyādhanu (Mayadunne), No. 115 (175 b), died according to Rājalekhana (Wickr.), Śaka 1503 = 1581/2 A. D.; Rājasīha I., No. 116 (177), according to Rv. Śaka 1514 = 1592/3 A. D.; Vimaladhammasuriya I., No. 117 (178), according to Rv. Śaka 1525 = 1603/4 A. D.; he came to the throne (Mhvs. 94. 5) 2135 A. B. = 1591/2 A. D.; Senāratana, No. 118 (179) died according to Rājalekhana (Wickr.) Śaka 1557 = 1635/6 A. D. and Rājasīha II., No. 119 (180), Śaka 1609 = 1687/8 A. D.; Vimaladhammasuriya II., No. 120 (181), Śaka 1629 = 1707/8 A. D.

40. Kittisirirājasīha, No. 123 (184), ascended the throne (Mhvs. 99. 2) 2290 A. B. = 1746/7 A. D. He died Śaka 1703 = 1781/2 A. D. He sends embassies to Siam (Mhvs. 100. 59 and 91) 2293 and 2296 A. B. = 1749/50 and 1752/3 A. D. Lastly Mhvs. 100. 282 gives 2301 A. B. = 1757/8 A. D. as the date for the consecration of the rebuilt Rajata-vihāra.

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rebels gather fresh courage, battles in the Guttasālā district (v. 153–157). — At the command of the King the relics are sent to Pulatthinagara; Mañju who negotiates their dispatch, secures the rear of the army by an expedition to the Dīghavāpi district (v. 158–180). — Parakkamabāhu brings the relics with great ceremony to the capital (v. 181–248).

Chapter 75

Combats in Dīghavāpi-maṇḍala (v. 1–18). — Advance of the Kañcukināyaka Rakkha along the coast by way of Gimhatittha and Mahāvālukagāma as far as Mālāvaratthalī (v. 19–68). — Expedition of the Damiḷādhikārin Rakkha starts from Doṇivagga (v. 69–97). — Decisive battles, finally at Mahāsenagāma, capture of Mahānāgahula and union with the other Rakkha (v. 98–120). — Fresh combats in Khaṇḍavagga and Mahāgāma (v. 121–140). — Feigned retreat to Pūgadaṇḍāvāṭa and decisive actions against the rebels (v. 141–148). — Mañju joined in Kumbugāma. Rakkha's troops capture Dvādasasahassaka and destroy the rebels there, Mañju's soldiers succeed in taking Queen Sugalā prisoner (v. 149–184). — Stern punishment of the guilty, clemency towards those who submit (v. 185–193). — Victorious return of the army to Pulatthinagara (v. 194–204).

Chapter 76

Risings in Rohaṇa and Mahātittha (v. 1–9). — Insolence of the ruler of Rāmañña (v. 10–35). — Parakkamabāhu determines to make war on him and prepares for the campaign (v. 36–52). — Victories in Rāmañña and conclusion of peace (v. 53–75). — Succession disputes in Madhurā, Parakkamabāhu petitioned for aid by the Paṇḍu king, sends an army under Laṅkāpura to Southern India (v. 76–85). — Landing and victorious actions with Kulasekhara's generals, occupation of Rāmissara (v. 86–101). — Restoration of the Ratanavālukacetiya in Anurādhapura by captive Damiḷas; on the completion of the work Parakkamabāhu celebrates a great festival (v. 102–120). — Continuation of the war in Southern In-

combats with Kulasekhara himself at the fortified camp of Parakkamapura opposite Rāmissara and further victorious actions (v 121-192) — Prince Vīrapaṇḍu, the lawful heir to the throne, joins Laṅkāpura; capture of Madhurā (v. 193-219) — Fresh combats with Kulasekhara's generals which end with the taking of Semponmāri (v 220-266) — Continuation of the campaign; Neṭṭuru the key position of the Sīhalas (v 267-290) — Reinforcements arrive from Laṅkā under Jagadvijaya The town of Rājinā finally taken by force from Kulasekhara, he himself escapes (v 291-334).

Chapter 77

Kulasekhara renews the fight Laṅkāpura subjugates several of his subordinate leaders and gains a victory at Ponnamarāvati (v 1-24) — Vīrapaṇḍu consecrated king in Madhurā (v 25-31) — Continuation of the war against Kulasekhara who finally seeks refuge in the Cola country (v 32-70). — Further actions culminate again in a fight for Ponnamarāvati (v 71-95) Laṅkāpura sends the booty to Ceylon, Parakkamabāhu founds the village of Paṇḍuvijaya in memory of the successful campaign (v 96-106)

Chapter 78

Second account of Parakkamabāhu's reform of the Church Mahākassapa head of the Council (v 1-30) — The King's ecclesiastical buildings. Jetavana (with Tivaṅka house, circular temple for the Tooth Relic etc), Ālāhana pariveṇa (with Laṅkātilaka, Baddhasīmāpāsāda etc) (v 31-55) — Fixing of the boundaries by the King (v 56-70) — Pacchimārāma, Uttarārāma, Mahāthūpa (v 70-78) — Vihāras in the suburbs and the Kapila-vihāra (v 79-95) — Restoration of the buildings in Anurādhapura (v 96-109)

Chapter 79

The laying out of gardens (v 1-12) — Erection or restoration of thūpas and other sacred buildings in Rājaraṭṭha

(v. 13-22). — Building or restoration of reservoirs and irrigation canals (v. 23-69). — Similar works in Rohaṇa (v. 70-84). — Conclusion (v. 85-86).

Chapter 80

Vijayabāhu II. reigns piously (v. 1-14). — He is murdered by Mahinda VI. who is followed by Kittinissaṅka, famed for his pious foundations (v. 15-26). — Brief reigns of Vīrabāhu, Vikkamabāhu, Coḍagaṅga, Līlāvatī (with Kitti), Sāhasamalla, Kalyāṇavatī (with Āyasmanta) (v. 27-41). — There follow Dhammāsoka, Anīkaṅga, Līlāvatī (with Vikkantacamūnakka), Lokissara, Līlāvatī (with Parakkama) and Parakkamapaṇḍu II. (v. 42-53). — Tyrannical reign of Māgha (54-80).

Chapter 81

After a time of great confusion Vijayabāhu III. takes over the government in Jambuddoṇī (v. 1-16). — He fetches the relics of the Tooth and the Alms-bowl which had been hidden by the theras on the Kotthumala mountain and builds for them a safe sanctuary on the Billasela mountain (v. 17-39). — He has sacred texts transcribed, builds vihāras and restores decayed buildings (v. 40-63). — He carefully educates his two sons Parakkamabāhu and Bhuvanekabāhu and appoints the former as his successor (v. 64-80).

Chapter 82

Parakkamabāhu II. brings the Tooth Relic to Jambuddoṇī, builds a temple for it and makes three urns as receptacles for it (v. 1-14). — Miraculous apparition (v. 15-49). — The setting up of the relic accompanied by a great festival (v. 50-53).

Chapter 83

Benevolent reign of the King (v. 1-7). — The Damiḷas conquered and driven out (v. 8-35). — Incursion of the Jāvakas; they are defeated by the King's nephew, Vīrabāhu (v. 36-52).

Chapter 84

Restoration of property in the Island according to former conditions (v 1-6) — Reform of the Order, invitation to foreign theras like Dhammakitti (v 7-16) — The King builds monasteries, sees to the better training of the bhikkhus, celebrates great festivals for the Order, honours eminent theras and bestows abundant gifts on the bhikkhus (v 17-44)

Chapter 85

Parakkamabāhu II builds in Sirivaddhana a vihāra and has the two sacred relics brought thither from Jambuddoṇi with great ceremony (v 1-36) — Offerings to the bhikkhus and a sacrificial festival for the Buddha (v 37-58) — Building of the Billasela-vihāra and other monasteries and restoration of decayed structures in Kalyaṇi, Hatthavanagalla, Devanagara Veneration of a relic of Mahākassapa in Bhimatittha (v 59-89) — Veneration of the Tooth Relic in the Sirivijayasundara-vihāra and other meritorious works (v 90 98) — Great kaṭhina offering and sacrificial festival (v 99-117) — Pilgrimage to the Sumanakūṭa (v 118-122)

Chapter 86

The King has all kinds of meritorious works performed by his minister Devapattirāja (v 1-17) — Making of a road from Gangasiripura to Sumanakūṭa and buildings on the summit (v 18 36) — Embellishment of the Hatthavanagalla-vihāra and road building at Bhimatittha (v 37-43) — Laying out of a large cocoplantation, building of the village Mahalabujagaccha Devapattirāja honoured by the King (v 44-58)

Chapter 87

A threatened famine prevented by the exhibition of the Tooth Relic (v 1-13) — The King gathers round him his five sons and his sister's son and gives them advice (v 14-38) — With the consent of the bhikkhu community he transfers the government to his eldest son, Vijayabāhu (v 39-74)

Chapter 88.

Vijayabāhu chooses Vīrabāhu as his intimate friend (v. 1-9). — He builds a temple for the Tooth Relic (v. 10-17) and divides the protection of the country among his brothers (v. 18-28). — Affection of the people (v. 29-42). — Vijayabāhu's buildings erected during his journeys through the country (v. 43-61). — War with Candabhānu (v. 62-76). — Buildings in Subhagiri and Anurādhapura (v. 77-89). — Restoration of Pulatthinagara (v. 90-121).

Chapter 89

Parakkamabāhu consecrated king in Pulatthinagara (v.1-10). — Ceremonial transference of the Tooth and Bowl relics from Jambuddoṇī to the above town (v. 11-46). — Great Upasampadā ceremony in Sahassatittha (v. 47-63). — Distinction conferred on deserving bhikkhus (v. 64-71).

Chapter 90

End of Vijayabāhu IV. (v. 1-3). — Bhuvanekabāhu I. escapes from the rebel Mitta to Subhagiri (v. 4-11). — Mitta murdered in Jambuddoṇī by rebel mercenaries who immediately support the King (v. 12-30). — Establishment of his dominion and meritorious works of Bhuvanekabāhu I. (v. 31-42). — Incursion of Āriyacakkavattin who carries off the Tooth Relic to the Paṇḍu country (v. 43-47). — Parakkamabāhu III. regains the relic by negotiation (v. 48-55). — He reigns in Pulatthinagara (v. 56-58). — Bhuvanekabāhu II. reigns as pious king (v. 59-63). — Parakkamabāhu IV. builds a temple for the Tooth Relic and celebrates a festival for it (v. 64-79). — Literary activity of the King. His buildings (v. 80-104). — Bhuvanekabāhu III., Vijayabāhu V., Bhuvanekabāhu IV. (v. 105-9).

Chapter 91

Parakkamabāhu V. and Vikkamabāhu V. Alagakkonāra founds Jayavaḍḍhanakoṭṭa (v. 1-8). — Bhuvanekabāhu V., Vīrabāhu II. (v. 9-14). — Parakkamabāhu VI. His meritorious works (v. 15-36).

Chapter 92

Jayabāhu II., Bhuvanekabāhu VI., Paṇḍita Parakkamabāhu VII., Vīra Parakkamabāhu VIII., Vijayabāhu VI., Bhuvanekabāhu VII. (v. 1-5). — Vīravikkama (in Kandy) earns merit by offerings to the Order. Pilgrimages, festivals etc. (v. 6-31).

Chapter 93

Māyādhanu (v. 1-3). — Rājasīha I. (in Sītāvaka) is converted to Hinduism and persecutes the Buddhist priests (v. 4-17).

Chapter 94

Vimaladhammasuriya I. in Goa (v. 1-6). — He brings the Tooth Relic from the Labujagāma-vihāra to Kandy and builds a temple for it (v. 7-14). — He summons bhikkhus from Arakan and furthers the Order (v. 15-23).

Chapter 95

Senāratana saves the Tooth Relic from the Portuguese and proceeds to *Mahiyaṅgaṇa where a son is born to him*, with significant signs (v. 1-16). — Returning to Kandy, he divides the realm by lot among his three sons (v. 17-26).

Chapter 96

Rājasīha II. dispossesses his brothers and becomes sole king (v. 1-6). — He is distinguished by personal courage (v. 7-10). Successful fights with the Portuguese (v. 11-37). — Vigorous rule in the interior (v. 38-42).

Chapter 97

Vimaladhammasuriya II. builds a temple for the Tooth Relic and furthers the Order by the admission of monks from Arakan (v. 1-15). — Pilgrimages and other meritorious works (v. 16-22). — Narindasīha lays the Order under obligations, undertakes pilgrimages, performs other pious works and builds the new temple for the Tooth Relic (v. 23-47). — The sāmaṇera Saraṇaṃkara takes the Tooth Relic under his protection and at the instigation of the King, performs several important works (v. 48-62).

Chapter 98

Vijayarājasīha marries princesses from Madhurā who embrace Buddhism and are its devoted disciples (v. 1-20). — The King's relations with Saraṇaṃkara (v. 21-24). — Veneration of the Tooth Relic with great festivities (v. 25-57). — Sacrificial festival of lamps (v. 58-64). — The building of vihāras and the embellishment of Sirivaḍḍhana (v. 65-70). — Sermons (v. 71-79). — Banishment of the Paraṅgis, visit to the sacred places (v. 80-86). — Embassy to Ayojjhā in order to fetch bhikkhus. The King's end (v. 87-97).

Chapter 99

Kittisirirājasīha reigns piously and seeks to spread the Buddhist doctrine (v. 1-24). — Honours conferred on the bhikkhus from Rakkhaṅga and furtherance of the Order (v. 25-35), — Pilgrimage to the sacred places (v. 36-41). — Great festivities in Sirivaḍḍhana, specially in honour of the Tooth Relic (v. 42-74). — Continuation of the Mahāvaṃsa (v. 75-80). — Friendly relations of the King and his brothers who like himself, are believing Buddhists (v. 81-107). — Military embroilment with the Olandàs who take Sirivaḍḍhana, but suffer a severe defeat (v. 108-139). — The Tooth Relic which had been concealed from the enemy is brought back to the town (v. 140-149). — The Olandas sue for peace (v. 150-167). — The King cares for the welfare of the Order (v. 168-182).

Chapter 100

Veneration of the Tooth Relic by the King who makes large offerings to it and celebrates festivals (v. 1-43). — Reform of the Order, embassy to Ayojjhā to King Dhammika who sends bhikkhus under the leadership of the thera Upāli to Laṅkā where they are received with great festivities (v. 44-90). — The King himself visits the monks from Sāminda in the Pupphārāma where dwellings are assigned them and instigates the holding of an Upasampadā ceremony (v. 91-96). — Furtherance of the newly established Order; the envoys who had accompanied the monks from Sāminda return thither (v. 97-135). — Dhammika again sends bhikkhus to Laṅkā. Death of Upāli (v. 136-148). — Envoys whom Kittisiri had sent to Dhammika return with rich gifts (v. 149-170). — Efficacy of the Siamese monks in Laṅkā; their return to Siam (v. 171-179). — The making of a Buddha image in Sirivaḍḍhana and ceremony of the Festival of the eyes (v. 180-200). — Rebuilding of the Gaṅgārāma and furnishing of the monastery (v. 201-215). — Foundation of a monastery in Kuṇḍasālā (v. 216-219). — Restoration of the cult on the Sumanakūṭa (v. 220-228). — Restoration of destroyed monasteries and their property, namely of the Rajata-vihāra which is described in detail (v. 229-292). — Further meritorious works of the King and of his minister Suvaṇṇagāma (v. 293-301).

Chapter 101.

Sirirājādhirājasīha reigns piously (v. 1-18). — Sirivikkamarājasīha at first a pious prince, becomes a tyrannical monster. The people rise against him and banish him to the mainland. The British take possession of the kingdom (v. 19-29).

CHAPTER LXXIII

ACCOUNT OF THE REBUILDING OF PULATTHINAGARA

Now when the Ruler Parakkama had accomplished his 1
consecration as king, he the wise one, best among those who
understand what is good (for the people), thought thus: "By 2
those kings of old who turned aside from the trouble of fur-
thering the laity and the Order — who through lust, hatred,
fear and delusion went wofully astray[1], who caused great evil 3
by the gathering of immeasurable taxes and the like — has
this people aforetime been grievously harassed. May it hence- 4
forth be happy, and may the Order of the great Sage —
long sullied by admixture with a hundred false doctrines, rent 5
asunder by the schism of the three fraternities and flooded
with numerous unscrupulous bhikkhus whose sole task is the 6
filling of their bellies — (that Order) which though five thousand
years have not yet passed, is in a state of decay, once more
attain stability. Of those people of noble birth who here and 7
there have been ruined, I would fain by placing them again
in their rightful position, become the protector in accordance
with tradition. Those in search of help I would fain support 8
by letting like a cloud overspreading the four quarters of the
earth[2], a rich rain of gifts pour continually down upon them.

[1] *Chanda, dosa, bhaya, moha* are called A. II. 18 *cattāri agatigamanāni.* Cf. *chandāgatiṃ* (*dosāgatiṃ* etc.) *gantuṃ* D. III 133[21], *chandā agatiṃ gacchati* Nett. 44[1] etc.

[2] The Buddhist cosmology recognises four chief continents. Cf. Vv. 20. 10 *catunnaṃ mahādīpānaṃ issaraṃ yo 'dha kāraye.* S. V. 343[20] *catunnaṃ dīpānaṃ paṭilābho.* In contrast to these are the 2000 small dīpas by which they are surrounded (VvCo. 104[14]). In the Gal-vihāra inscription

9 All this was (for me) while with arduous struggle I sought
10 the royal dignity, the absolutely preconceived result. Now is
the time to carry out what I have wished." In consideration
of this he bestowed office on those who deserved it[1].
11 Hereupon he had the drums beaten and those in search
of help called together and he allotted them yearly a large
12 alms equal in weight to his body. Then the Ruler in order
to promote the furtherance of the Order, assembled the great
13 community dwelling in the three fraternities. Further he called
together many distinguished teachers learned in the methods
14 of discriminating between failure and non-failure, and as he
himself was the foremost among those versed in the rules of the
Order and acquainted with right and wrong, he could distin-
15 guish the genuine from the false ascetics. Further being in
virtue of his impartiality free from liking and disliking, and
as a result of his unweariedness arduously active day and
16 night, he cured like a clever, expert physician who distin-
17 guishes between curable and incurable disease, those which
were curable and set aside those which were incurable by the
method prescribed by the rules of the Order, free in his de-
18 cisions from error. From the days of King Vaṭṭagāmaṇi
Abhaya[2] the three fraternities had lost their unity, despite
19 the vast efforts made in every way by former kings down to

the Buddha is compared to a rain-cloud which pours its blessing over the four continents These continents are: Uttarakuru, Jambudīpa, Pubbavideha and Aparagodāna (Wickremasinghe, EZ. II, p. 279, n. 9). For the Brahmanic teaching of the Dvīpas see Kirfel, Kosmographie der Inder, p. 110 ff.

[1] *Verses 2—10 form one sentence. It is governed by idāni kālo vidhātum etam sabbam mayā sambhāvitam* What he has aspired to is: 1) with regard to the mass of the people that they should be happy (v. 4a), 2) with regard to the Order, that it might attain stability (*yathā assa addhaniyam* v. 6d); 3) with regard to the nobility, that the king should again become their protector (v. 7d: *pālanam* must be supplemented by an *assam* from *assa* in 6 d "may I be"), 4) with regard to those in want, that the king may support them (v. 8 d).

[2] For the schism in the Order at the time of this prince see Mhvs. 33 95 ff.

the present day. They turned away in their demeanour from
one another and took delight in all kinds of strife. But the 20
all-wise Ruler who had already in past existences striven after
the purification of the Order as something which must be
attained[1], achieved its union, whereby he had to endure double 21
as much heavy toil as in his efforts for the royal dignity.
And he made the Order as uniform as milk and water so 22
that it could last in purity for five thousand years[2].
Hereupon the best of men had a square hall[3] erected in 23
the middle of the town with four entrances and several large

[1] P. *gahitabbato* is an adverbial formation from *gahitabba* = skr. *grahītavya*. It would correspond to skr. *grahītavyatas*. Cf. Whitney, Indische Grammatik § 1098.

[2] Verses 12—22 form one sentence. The principal verb in 22 c d is *akāsi* (*jinasāsanaṃ khīrodakībhūtaṃ*), subject *bhūpati* in 21 d. The gerunds *rāsīkatvā* (12 c) and *saṃnipātiya* (13 d), as also *samaggaṃ katvā* (21 d) are subordinate. This last is preceded by the pret. and pres. participles: — *paṭighānunayāvajjito* (15 b), *atandito* (15 d), *samupadhārento* (16 c), *tikicchanto* and *vivajjayaṃ* (17 a b), as well as *anayāpetasaṃkappo* (17 c) and *anubhonto* (21 c). These are all of them attributes of the subject. The object of *samaggaṃ akāsi* is *nikāyattitayaṃ* with the three attributes in 19 b c d of which the first has a still closer adverbial definition in 18 and 19 a ("in spite of the great efforts" etc.); *payāsena* must be supplemented by *katena*. — The brief account of our chronicle is confirmed by the Gal-vihāra inscription of Parakkamabāhu in Polonnaruva. Cf. Ed. Müller, AIC nr. 54; Wickremasinghe, EZ. II. 256 ff. From the contents it is even possible to establish certain connections between the inscription and the account of the Cūlavs., though these are of too vague a character for us to draw far-reaching conclusions from them. Both start with the schism of the church under Vaṭṭagāmaṇī. Both speak of the intention that the Order should now be secure in its stability for 5000 years. In the Cūlavs. the king is compared to a cloud spreading itself over the four continents just as the inscription uses this comparison of Buddha. See also note to 78. 5. In chap. 78 a second and more detailed account of the reform of the church follows, Rājāvalī says (trsl. by B. Gunasekara, p. 59) quite briefly: "he reconciled the religious differences which had existed since the reign of Vaḷagam Abā." The account in the Nikāyasaṃgraha is more detailed (p. 22 of Wickremasinghe's ed.).

[3] P. *catussāla* = skr. *catuḥśālā* denotes a square surrounded by buildings. We must imagine therefore a square court surrounded on all sides by halls open to the interior. Cf. Mhvs. 37. 15. The word occurs as the name of a particular building in Anurādhapura in Mhvs. 15. 47, 50; [illegible]

24 rooms and instituted a great almsgiving in which everything needful was to be had daily for many hundreds in number
25 who had kept the precepts of moral discipline[1] And every year the Ruler of men had given to each of them according to his age, garments and mantles, (thus) at all times full of
26 benevolence Thereupon he had four almshouses built in the four districts of the town and had them erected in separate
27 divisions, and therein he placed many vessels of bronce, cushions
28 and pillows, mats, carpets and bedsteads as well as cows by the thousand that gave sweet milk Then near these (halls)
29 at a spot with pure water he laid down charming gardens adorned with trees that bore abundant blossom and fruit, and
30 fair as the garden of Nandana[2] Further generous as he was, he set up in their neighbourhood rich provender houses
31 supplied with money and money's worth which contained all necessities such as syrup, sugar, honey and the like And
32 (there) he instituted for many thousands of bhikkhus from all four regions of the earth who practised moral discipline and other virtues, for Brahmans belonging to a mendicant
33 order, as well as for many other supplicants and poor travellers daily a great almsgiving, he the wise (prince), untiring, unwearying, with a heart full of love

34 Hereupon the Ruler of men, filled with pity, had another great hall built for many hundreds of sick people, fitted for
35 their sojourn there, and had placed in it in the way above described, a complete collection of all articles of use There
36 also he gave to each sick person a special slave and a female slave to prepare day and night according to need, medicines
37 and food, solid and liquid There too he had many provender houses built in which a quantity of medicine, money and
38 money's worth and the like were collected To discerning and skilful physicians who were quick at distinguishing various (bodily) conditions and who were versed in all the text books,

[1] P *sīlapālīnam* refers as W assumes to monks. Age in v 25 (P *vuḍḍhatarānam*) means then the period of belonging to the Order

[2] The pleasure garden of the god Indra. F W Hopkins Epic Mythology p 141

he gave maintenance according to their deserts, recognising 39
the merits in all of them and made them day and night
practise the medical art in the best manner. He himself on 40
the four Uposatha days in the month, having laid aside all
his ornaments and having taken upon himself the vow of the
sacred day, pure with pure upper garment, surrounded by his 41
dignitaries, was wont to visit that hall, his heart cooled with
pity[1]. With an eye that charmed by goodness he gazed at 42
the sick. And as the Ruler of men was himself versed in
medical lore[2], he the all-wise summoned the physicians ap- 43
pointed there, tested in every way their healing activities, and 44
if their medical treatment had been wrongly carried out he
met them with the right method, pointed it out to them as
the best of teachers and showed them the proper use of the 45
instruments by skilfully treating several people with his own
hand. Then he tested the favorable or unfavorable condition 46
of all the sick, let those who were rid of their illness have
garments given to them and then rejoicing in good, after he 47
had taken his reward[3] from the hands of the physicians and
given them their reward[3], he returned to his palace. By such 48
means year by year he being (himself) free from disease,
freed the sick from all their illnesses.

Yet another miracle never before seen or heard was mani- 49
fest in him who was rich in the virtue of pity rightly exercis-
ed. To that hall there came, tortured by great pain, a crow 50
suffering from an ulcer that had formed in her cheek. As if 51

[1] P. *dayāsītalamānaso*. Cf. 73. 141. The heart is hot with passion. Passion is cooled by pity. We Northerners would be more inclined to say it is "warmed".

[2] P. *āyubbede* = skr. *āyurvede*. The Ayurveda "Veda of the (Lengthening of the) Span of Life" was held to be the basis of all medical knowledge and was regarded as an *upāṅga* of the Atharvaveda. See WINTERNITZ, Gesch. der ind. Literatur, III, p. 542; J. JOLLY, Medicin, p. 12 f.

[3] Each time the expression *patti* is used. Employed of the king, it means the merit working itself out in the *kamma*. This merit is found in the healing activity of the physicians and is left by them to the king, because he is its spiritual parent. Cf. note to 42. 50. Employed of the doctors, *patti* means the payment for their services.

chained by the strong bands of his pity she sat as if with clipped wings, motionless outside the hall moaning piteously.
52 The physicians who rightly recognised her condition, caught
53 her and cured her at the Great King's command. Her disease cured, the King set her upon an elephant and having made her walk round the town, her right side towards it, he set
54 her free. Where, when and by whom was ere such exceeding great mercy even to animals seen or heard?

55 Thereupon King Parakkamabāhu, the hero, to whom all right-minded people were devoted, set about the rebuilding in grandeur and beauty of the superb city of *Pulatthinagara*
56 which had reached such a state that nought but its name remained, and which no longer sufficed to make manifest his
57 superlatively royal glory[1]. The Monarch now had a high chain of walls built which on all sides enclosed the fortified
58 town[2] and was larger than the town wall[3] of former kings and gleamed with its coating of lime bright as autumn clouds.
59 Then after he had built round this three walls[4] each in turn
60 smaller than the other, he laid down various streets. Then he

[1] For the following description compare above all A. M. Hocart, The Topography of Polonnaruva (ASC. Memoirs II. 1926, p. 3 ff.). H. W. Codrington is certainly right in his assumption that the description in the Cūlavaṃsa proceeds from south to north. I refer the reader at once to the second and later account of Parakkamabāhu's building activities in 78 31 ff.

[2] By *khandhāvāra* I understand here the inner walled part of the town in contrast to the open parts of the town lying around it. The "chain of walls" refers probably to the rampart of the town still recognisable, stretching for about a mile from north to south and half a mile from east to west. Within this rampart lies the „citadel" with the royal castle. See note to v. 61

[3] The abl *purapākāracakkato* shows that we must take the positive *mahantam* in the sense of a comparative, as is often the case. The new structure was thus more extensive than the older one.

[4] The Kauṭalīya lays down that three trenches each narrower than the other, must surround the wall of a castle. The dug out soil may have served for the construction of the "small wall". See Kauṭ. 2. 3. 21 (in Jolly's ed. p. 31; in J. J. Meyer's translation p. 65[10] in that of Shamasastry, p. 57).

erected around his own palace and around his whole dwelling
a second inner wreath of walls[1] and built thereon a palace[2] 61
seven storeys high, furnished with a thousand chambers and
adorned with many hundreds of pillars painted in divers hues.
It was richly supplied with hundreds of alcoves[3] which were 62
like to the summit of the Kelāsa[4] mountain and were radiant
with manifold ornaments of climbing plants and flowers. It 63
had doors and windows of gold large and small, well divided
walls and stairs and offered conveniences for every season.
It was ever adorned with many thousands of various beds 64
which were made of gold, ivory and the like and had costly

[1] P. *anupākāramaṇḍalaṃ*, lit. a secondary circle of walls.

[2] The word for "palace", *pāsādaṃ*, first occurs in v. 70. All the verses between contain attributes of which I have made independent sentences. There is no doubt that the palace is recognisable in the ruins which are marked "palace" on the plans. It is enclosed along with a number of subsidiary buildings by a rampart (the *anupākāra* of the text) "forming an oblong of roughly 440 by 264 yards" (A. M. Hocart, l. c., p. 3). The enclosed ground is now known by the name of the "citadel", and the palace stands in the southern part of the square. Cf. for the whole H. C. P. Bell, ASC. 1911—12 (= S. P. III, 1915), p. 50 ff. When the Cūlavs. speaks of a thousand apartements and many hundreds of pillars that is of course merely the stereotyped exaggeration constantly recurring in such descriptions. At the same time there is a striking number of tiny rooms grouped round the central main part of the building in the groundfloor. There are more than fifty of them. Without doubt there were further apartments in the upper storeys. That the palace at least in its central portions consisted of one or several storeys is proved by the extraordinary strength of the walls enclosing the innermost chamber. These are more than ten feet thick. Then too a broad staircase is still standing which led from the south of this room upwards. Unfortunately our chronicle gives instead of exact figures merely the customary phrases prescribed by poetics.

[3] P. *kūṭāgāra*. Rāvaṇa's palace is also described in the Rāmāyaṇa 5. 9. 14 (Bombay ed. 1902) as *kūṭāgāraiḥ śubhāgāraiḥ sarvataḥ samalaṃkataṃ*. The commentary on the passage explains *kūṭāgāraiḥ* by *guptasvalpagṛhaiḥ*.

[4] Buildings which are high, pointed and white in colour (covered with stucco), especially stūpas (78. 77), are frequently compared to the Kelāsa mountain (cf. 68. 41 and note).

65 coverings The height of its splendour[1] was reached in the
royal sleeping apartment which was ever immeasurably re-
66 splendent with a thick bunch of pearls[2] suspended at its four
corners, white as moonbeams and gleaming so that they
67 laughed to scorn the beauty of the divine Gangā (The sleep-
ing apartment) was adorned with a wreath of large golden
lampstands which breathed out continually the parfume of
68 flowers and incense With the network of tiny golden bells[3]
suspended here and there and giving forth a sound like the
69 sound of the five musical instruments, the palace made known,
as it were, the rich fulness of the merits of the King This
70 splendid palace, like to a matchless structure of Vissakamman[4],
charming and peerless, he, the first among the protectors of
the earth, built and gave it the name of Vejayanta[5]
71 For the carrying out of the ceremonies of expiation by
the Brahmans (he built) the Hemamandira and for the recitation
72 of magic incantations the charming Dhāraṇighara[6]. For li-
stening to the birth stories of the great Sage which were
related by a teacher appointed there for the purpose, (he built)

[1] So I translate *sandhikatam uttamam* (cf skr *sandhikṛ* as well as below v 152) in v 67d Verses 66b to 67ab contain attributes of *siri sayanagabbhena* in 67c, v 65 attributes of *thūlamuttakalapena*

[2] In Ram 5 9 17 it is said of Ravaṇa s palace *nistulābhiśca muktā bhistalenābhinirājitam*

[3] The *kinkini(ka)jāla* is one of the ornaments of the maṇḍapas (JaCo. I 32[31] DhCo I 274[2]) and of the pasādas (D II 183[6], Mhvs 27 16, 27)

[4] Skr *Viśvakarman*, the architect of the gods, often associated and confused with Tvaṣṭar Cf Hopkins, Epic Mythology, p 201 He is the builder of Varuṇa s palace (ibid p 118) and of the divine hall of assembly (ibid p 113)

[5] This is the name of Indra s palace See 48. 136

[6] I take *hemamandira* golden house' and *dhāraṇighara* ,house of incantation' as the names of the buildings in question *Santi* in a is as otherwise *santikamma*, to be understood in the technical sense of skr *śānti* Cf with *parittatana* in c *parittatanamanta* JaCo I 200[14] It is impossible now to say which of the present ruins correspond to the buildings mentioned We should probably look for them in the various structures in the immediate vicinity of the palace

the fair Maṇḍalamandira[1]. For the reception of the magic 73
water and of the magic thread given him by the yellow-robed
ascetics (he built) the Pañcasattatimandira[2]. Lastly he who 74
ever trod the path of the true doctrine, erected a sermon
house[3]. It was surrounded by an enclosure of coloured cur-
tains and adorned with costly canopies. By reason of the 75
many-hued, sweet-smelling flowers laid down here and there
as offerings it had the semblance of a single nosegay. Its 76
interior was constantly lighted by lamps with scented oil and
perfumed by incense of gum resin. It was gaily adorned with 77
many likenesses of the Victor (Buddha) in gold and the like
and was resplendent with a garland of pictures of the Omniscient
One, which were painted on stuff. When that Prince among 78
kings entered it to place with his own hand a (jewel as) eye[4]
upon the statue of the Victor, or to honour by sacrifice the 79
Tathāgata, or to listen to the unsurpassable true doctrine
— (then) was it like unto a divine hall of assembly. It was 80

[1] That is "circle house". Of course the building which was to serve for the narration of the jātakas was first erected and then an *ācariya* appointed for the purpose. BELL (ASC. 1906, p. 10ff.; cf. EZ. II. 238ff.) regards the *maṇḍalamandira* as the so-called Potgul-vehera to the south of Pulatthinagara. But I do not believe that he is right.

[2] That is "the house of the seventy-five". The reason for the name is unknown. Obviously the building was meant to serve for the holding of parittā ceremonies. Water and thread play the most important part in these, as the white thread which runs through the hands of all the participating priests starts from a vessel filled with water. At the close the foreheads of the priests are sprinkled with the water.

[3] Again verses 74 to 81 form one sentence. The attributes in 74 to 81b precede the object *dhammāgāraṃ* in 81c. Of these we have made independent sentences. The most important building in the neighbourhood of the palace is the "Rājamāligāva" situated to the east of it. It is an oblong structure on a terrace of three tiers. The walls of the terrace are decorated with beautifully carved reliefs. Whether indeed we may call the building a *dhammāgāra* is doubtful. It looks like a hall of audience or like a council-hall. Cf. ASC. 1905 (= S. P. XX. 1909), p. 3ff.

[4] The eyes of Buddha statues consisted frequently of precious stones (dark blue sapphires). Their insertion took place with specially solemn ceremonies.

graced by a wonderful peacock which drove people out of
81 their senses whenever screeching its peacock cry, it began
its dance together with the dancing girl who danced there
while they struck up a sweet rhythmic song[1].
82 Further in order to listen to the rhythmic songs of the
many musicians and to behold their charming dance, the
Monarch had built near the palace the Sarassatīmaṇḍapa[2].
83 It glittered in every direction with its golden pillars. It was
delightful with paintings relating to his (Parakkamabāhu's)
84 deeds It was embellished by a wishing-tree offering all de-
sired things which sparkled with all kinds of ornaments such
85 as earrings, bracelets, necklaces and the like, which was re-
splendent with garments of linen, silk, Chinese stuff and other
86 materials, which gleamed with its golden trunk and a row of
branches, and which was adorned by a flock of numerous birds
which were painted on it.
87 Further he had the fair maṇḍapa erected which bore the
name Rājavesibhujanga[3]. It was like unto the hall of the
gods, called Sudhammā, which descended to earth, just as if

[1] The peacock was thus a mechanical toy which however existed apparently only in the imagination of the poet. "Rhythmic" is *layānugata* or in v 82 *layopeta* The Indians distinguish three *layāḥ* or tempi *druta*, *madhya* and *vilambita*.

[2] "Maṇḍapa of Sarasvatī" She is the goddess of eloquence, here of the arts of the muses in general It is impossible to identify either this building or the one following The description is unfortunately purely formal. The fact of both buildings being described as maṇḍapas suggests something of the pavilion kind, provisional in character. Verses 83 to 86 and 87 to 91 again form each one sentence, built up in the same way as the sentence in v 74 to 81

[3] The name is difficult to explain A suburb of Pulatthinagara is called thus (73 153, 78. 79), and this name again seems to be connected with the epithet Rājavesibhujaṅgasilāmegha applied to Ilaṅkiya in 76 192. The word *vesi* means 'harlot", "prostitute". *Bhujaṅga* in addition to "snake" means the "lover of a prostitute" (BR. s. v., c) This meaning is here to be assumed in the name owing to the association with *vesi*. In the inscripton of Ihala Puliyankulam of the time of Parakkamabāhu I., dealt with by Codrington (JRAS C. B. XXX, nr 79, p. 271), he has the surname of *ari-rāja-vesi-bhujanga*.

the good deeds of all people were accumulated at one spot.
It was three-storeyed, ornamented with coloured pictures, 88
surrounded by lines of fair vedikās[1], exquisite, adorned with 89
a costly chair beneath a wishing-tree which offered the singers
and other people the wished-for objects. It shimmered with its 90
manifold precious stones like the diadem, sparkling in the sun,
of that fair lady, the island of Laṅkā, whom he won by the force
of his arms[2]; and it was like unto the wreath of tresses of 91
the protector of the world of men[3]. In the same way he 92
built the fair Ekatthambha-pāsāda[4] that ended with a ma-

[1] What *vedikā* means is not easy to determine. Noteworthy is the frequency of the phrase *vedikāya parikkhitta* „surrounded by a vedikā" as for instance a bathing pond, a *pokkharaṇī* D. II. 179^{7} ff. Here most probably it means a railing, since just before the same has been said of a stair case. As a staircase when it is of gold etc. has golden *thambhā* (that is railing gates) and *sūciyo* (i. e. cross-bolts), as well as an *uṇhīṣa* (cornice) of silver, in the same way the vedikā of the pond has it. Cf. further VvCo. 340^{5}, where *kañcanavedimissaṃ* is explained by *suvaṇṇamayāya vedikāya sahitaṃ parikkhittaṃ*. A vedikā is part of a heavenly pāsāda just as the rooms, the windows, the network of bells (Mhvs. 27. 16). The lohapāsāda had a *pavāḷavedikā*, a vedikā of coral (Mhvs. 27. 26). There was a *nānāratanavedikā* round the bodhi tree (Mhvs. 30. 70). A vedikā belongs to a stūpa (Mhvs. 32. 4; 34. 41), to an image house (Mhvs. 78. 40), to a bathing-house (Mhvs. 78. 46). Cf. also note to 76. 118.

[2] I divide *nijabāhubalā* (= instr.) *aruṇe*. For it is hardly admissible to take the whole as a parallel compound to *laṅkaṅganāya*.

[3] W. regards this as referring to Śiva. The reference is suitable, since Śiva wears the crescent moon in the hair over his forehead, his tresses are therefore illumined.

[4] Lit. „one-pillar-palace". In such a one-pillar-palace, *gehe ekathūnike*, was Cittā the daughter of Paṇḍuvāsudeva confined, to prevent her coming into contact with any man. JāCo I. 441^{24-25} also mentions an *ekatthambhakapāsāda* which serves as a king's dwelling. For an idea of what such a structure looked like, v. 94 a b is important where it is compared to a candelabra. One must therefore oddly enough imagine the pāsāda as something in the form of a dovecote. It should be remembered however, that the rooms both in the royal castle at Polonnaruva and in the Baddhasīmapāsāda were extremely small, not more than 8×10 ft. In Veherabendigala I saw something like a room just large enough for a man stretched at full length to lie down in.

93 kara[1] and rose aloft as if it had split open the earth And
it was adorned with a superb golden chamber[2] that was
94 placed above on a golden column, possessed of the beauty of
a cave of gold for this lion among kings, and which glittered
like a candelabra on a golden foot

95 Again the Ruler, the leader of earth protectors, had a
private garden laid down in a region close to the kings house
96 As one felt that it showed by its beauty a likeness to the
(heavenly) pleasure garden Nandana, and by lavishing charm
charmed the eyes of men[3], it received the name of Nandana[4]
97 Its trees were twined about with jasmin creepers and it was
filled with the murmur of the bees drunk with enjoyment of
98 the juice of the manifold blossoms There campaka, asoka
and tilaka trees, nāgas, punnāgas and ketakas, sal trees, pā
99 ṭali and nipa trees, mangos, jambū and kadamba trees, vakulas,
coco palms, kuṭajas and bimbijālakas, mālatī, mallikā, tamāla
100 and navamālikā shrubs[5] and yet other trees bearing manifold
fruits and blossoms rejoiced the heart of the people who went
101 thither Pleasant it was, and with the cry of the peacocks
and the gentle twitter (of the birds) it always delighted the
102 people It was furnished with a number of ponds with be-

[1] A dolphin like mythical animal often employed as ornament especially on balustrades of staircases

[2] P *jātarupanivāsena* with a dwelling room, a habitation of gold

[3] I separate thus *janānam nayanā* (acc. pl) *nandanā-dam nandayati* The fem *nandanā* is found also S I. 6[10]

[4] Verses 95 to 112 are one sentence he laid down the private garden by name Nandana whose trees and it was filled There follow further attributes of *gharuyyānaṃ*, partly in adjective form, partly as relative sentences (cf *yattha* in v 100, 109, 111, *yaṃ* in v 110)

[5] The botanical names are in the same order 1 michelia champaka, 2 jonesia asoka, 3 unknown (Skr *tilaka*), 4. mesua ferrea, 5 rottlera tinctoria, 6 pandanus odoratissimus, 7 shorea robusta, 8. bignonia suaveolens, 9 nauclea cadamba, 10 mangifera indica, 11 eugenia jambolana, 12 nauclea cordifolia, 13 mimusops elengi, 14 cocos nucifera, 15. wrightia antidysenterica or nerium antidysentericum, 16. momordica monadelpha, 17 jasminum grandiflorum, 18 jasminum sambac, 19. xanthochymus pictorius, 20. a variety of jasminum sambac.

autiful banks whose chief decoration were red and blue lotos flowers and which appropriated all that was the loveliest of
the lovely. It was adorned too with a large gleaming bath- 103
room[1] supported by pillars resplendent with endless rows
of figures in ivory, which was fair and like to a mountain 104
of cloud pouring forth rain by (reason of) the showers of water which flowed constantly from the pipes of the apparatus,
and which seemed to be the crown jewel of the beauty of 105
the garden[2] and ravished the eye. The garden was (further) 106
resplendent with an extensive palace[3] adorned with many
columns of sandalwood, resembling an ornament on the earth's 107
surface, that glittered, peerless, shimmering, and with an
octagonal maṇḍapa resembling an ear ornament. It was also 108
adorned with another large, fair, charming maṇḍapa that had
the charm of a wreath of serpentine windings[4]. There in the 109
garden the Silāpokkharaṇī[5] pond continually captivated the King who was highest among rulers of the earth, who had
attached the good without number to himself. Still more 110
delightful was the garden by (means of) the Maṅgalapokkharaṇī

[1] P. *dhārāmaṇḍapa* (v. 105) corresponds to the skr. *dhārāgṛha.* From the description it is clear that a shower bath is meant.

[2] P. *uyyānalakkhiyā.* It must be borne in mind that *lakkhī* is at the same time the name of the goddess of beauty, Lakṣmī. Thus in the picture the garden is compared with the goddess and the "palace" with an ornament of her diadem.

[3] P. *vimānena.* Writers are fond of using the term half mythically. By *v.* is understood mainly the abodes of blessed spirits which hover in the air. In JāCo. I. 328^{15} a tree serves as *vimāna* for the devatā dwelling there. Save here and in the following the word occurs but rarely as a name for human habitations.

[4] Is the idea here pillars with baroque spirals such as are found on a structure of the so called quadrangle in Polonnaruva?

[5] I. e. stone pond. Having regard to the two names occurring in v. 110, I prefer to take this as a proper name. W. also understands *puṇṇapokkharaṇī* in v. 111 as such. It is quite possible. We must then join *sugandhivāripūrena* with *nandayantī* "which gladdened by the fulness of perfumed water". My translation of vv. 111, 112 was determined by the circumstance that °*pūrena* and *puṇṇa*° occur next to each other.

pond, and provided with the Nandāpokkharaṇī pond it looked
111 like the divine garden of Nandana. Yet another pond gleamed
112 there, filled with a stream of perfumed water, gladdening the
royal moon, and it was ever fair with rich beauty and splendour, furnished with the cave called Vasanta and with bathing ponds[1].
113 Again on land that resembled an island because the water
divided into two arms, the foe-subduer laid down a second
114 garden, the Dīpuyyāna[2]. There one saw the Dhavalāgāra[3]
that like to the summit of the Kelāsa, was made entirely of
115 stucco, wonder exciting. The garden was adorned with a
Vimāna which bore the name of Vijjāmaṇḍapa because it was
116 built to show forth the various branches of science. And there
too gleamed the beautiful, roomy[4] Doḷāmaṇḍapa[5] that was

[1] The *pokkharaṇīhi ca* comes in rather lamely after bathing ponds have been already mentioned in v 109 to 111. The question is where must the garden be looked for In my opinion no weight can be attached to the structures in it mentioned in the text. The description is purely formal, made up according to the recipe for describing a garden. Even the enumeration of the many trees means nothing. The author is merely displaying his botanical knowledge or rather his acquaintance with literary sources like Abhp. 538 ff. Of actual facts which could be utilised little remains but that it was a *gharuyyāna* a house-garden (private garden) We must look for it therefore in the immediate neighbourhood of the royal castle and I believe therefore that it filled the northern half of the citadel. Doubtless it contained pavilions and bathing arrangements. A M Hocart is inclined to look for the Nandana garden to the east of the palace and outside of the citadel, mainly on account of the *silāpokkharaṇī*, since a bathing pond answering this description does in fact lie under the eastern wall of the citadel.

[2] Opinion is now unanimous, I think, that the "island park" lies on the so called "promontory" that juts out in the Topaveva west of the citadel and on which are now situated the rest house and the bungalow of the Archaeological Survey. For the ruins of the Promontory see the plan ASC. 1901 (= LIII. 1907). For the bathing house in the Dīpuyyāna cf EZ. II 143.

[3] I e. "white house", to be taken as a proper name.

[4] The meaning of *parivita* is unknown. Skr. *vivīta* (cf. Kauṭalīya 2. 2. 1) means a (fenced in) pasture.

[5] I. e. "swing pavilion".

furnished with a swing hung with tiny pretty golden bells.
The garden was further resplendent with the vimāna called 117
Kīḷāmaṇḍapa[1] where the king at the head of the sport officials
connoisseurs of the merry mood[2], was wont to amuse himself.
And it was for ever embellished by the so-called Sanimaṇḍapa[3] 118
which consisted of ivory, and again by another (maṇḍapa), the
superb so-called Moramaṇḍapa[4] and also by the Ādāsamaṇḍapa[5] 119
whose walls consisted of mirrors. There too the bathing 120
pond Anantapokkharaṇī[6] with its stones whose layers resembled
the coils of (the serpent king) Ananta, continually captivated
the people. There the bathing pond Cittāpokkharaṇī[7] with 121
its gay pictures rejoiced the foe-subduer Parakkamabāhu, the
royal sage. Resplendent there was a four-storeyed, peerless 122
palace, painted with various pictures and bearing the name
Siṅgāravimāna[8]. The garden was adorned with tāla and 123
hintāla palms, was resplendent with nāga and punnāga trees
and was rich in banana, kaṇṇikāra and kaṇikāra trees[9].

[1] I. e. "play pavilion" or "games pavilion".

[2] P. *hassarasa* = skr. *hāsyarasa*. On the theory of the rasas s. note to 72. 94.

[3] The name might mean "pavilion of (the planet) Saturn". The Col. Ed. reads against the MSS. *Sānimaṇḍapa* which *would mean* "carpet pavilion, pavilion of the curtains".

[4] I. e. "peacock pavilion".

[5] I. e. "mirror pavilion".

[6] Ananta is here the name of the world serpent *Śeṣa* (see Hopkins, Epic Mythology 23—24). It is also called Anantabhoga, and it would be possible to insert this name also here in *anantabhogasaṃkāsasaṃnivesasilā* (instead of "coils of the a"). W. seems *to do this. But* then it is *not* clearly indicated in what the comparison consists. In my opinion the steps surrounding the pond were laid somewhat in this form: ∼∼∼∼

[7] I. e. "picture pond".

[8] P. *vimānaṃ siṅgārasaddapubbaṃ*, lit. a vimāna in which the word *siṅgāra* (Skr. *śṛṅgāra*, "ornament, *love*, a particular *rasa*") stands in front (of the name). *Pubba is used here instead of the customary ādi* (note to 44. 6).

[9] The botanical names are in the same order: 1. borassus flabelliformis, 2. phoenix paludosa, *3. mesua ferrea, 4. rottlera tinctoria,* 5. musa sapientum, 6. pterospermum *acerifolium, 7.* premna spinosa (?). — Tr.

124 Now there was in the palace of the Monarch of all races
of rulers, among those belonging to the closest of his followers,
a man named Mahinda He was a worshipper of the triad
125 of the Jewels[1], understood what was blessed and unblessed,
was wise, pure in heart, versed in the means of accomplishing
126 many meritorious actions, never went astray through lust,
hatred, fear or delusion, was never satiated with the fulness[2]
of goodness, as little as the ocean by the (streaming in of
127 the) waters He was gifted with conscientiousness and modesty,
attacked ever with brave courage and was a discerning guar-
128 dian of moral discipline Now this man with the favour
of the sublime Monarch who was ever a helper in all (good)
129 enterprises, caused a pāsāda to be built for the honour of
the sacred Tooth Relic which was pure by its suffusion with
the nectar of the eighty-four thousand portions of the doctrine
130 The same (pāsāda) was embellished by a roofing and doors
and windows of gold and was resplendent with numerous
131 paintings within and without It gleamed with canopies of
various colours like a golden mountain surrounded by a net
132 of lightning It was resplendent with curtains which glistened
in brilliancy, and with a series of couches covered with costly
133 coverings It was like to a dwelling of the goddess of beauty,
glorious as if all the grace found in each living being were
134 concentrated in one spot[3] It was resplendent with its vast,
charming hall of the moon, which was wonderfully beautiful,
white as light, or as pearl ornaments, or as geese, or as snow,
135 or as a cloud Banners were fixed on it, it was fair, with
gilded summit, bright, calling forth delight, beautiful[4].

113—123 again form one sentence which must be analysed according to note to v 96 According to the description in this passage, the garden must have been full of buildings That would fit the "promontory on which there are many ruins amongst others those of a bathing pond

[1] See note to 40 17

[2] P *oghehi* lit by the floods

[3] The sentence must be construed thus *dehisu yā kāci siriyā tāni tāsaṃ sabbāsaṃ dehadhārinaṃ rāmaneyyakāni* (what is gracious = grace) *tāsaṃ ekattha piṇḍitāni*

[4] The verses 124 to 135 are one sentence The subject is *Ma*

Further the King, the sole banner of the stem of the 136
nobility, possessed a dear consort who had come forth, re-
joicing the eyes of the people, as the moon (rises) from the
ocean, from (the house of) the great king Kittisirimegha[1], 137
who loved him, the highest of rulers, as Sītā (loved) Rāma.
Amongst all the ladies of the harem, many hundreds in number, 138
she was by far his best loved. She loved the triad of the 139
jewels and beyond her own husband who was like to the King
of the gods (Indra), she cared for none even as much as grass
whoever he might be. She did what the Lord of men wished, 140
had friendly speech, was adorned with the ornament of many
virtues such as faith, discipline and the like, was skilful in 141
dance and song, possessed an intelligence (sharp) as the point
of the kusa grass, her heart was ever cooled by the practice
of the virtue of pity[2]. She, the Queen Rūpavatī, most 142
beauteous of beauteous women, the clever, the virtuous, pure in
action, the highly-famed, mindful of the doctrine of the Victor 143
which teaches of impermanency, had learned many sayings of
the great Sage and kept them in her memory, as for instance
"Short is the life of the lamentable men; the pious man should 144
live as if his head were in flames; there is no escape from

hindanāmako (v. 127 c), predicate and object are *kāresi pāsādaṃ*. Verses 124—127 contain the attributes to the subject, verses 130—134 (after an adverbial in 128, 129) the attributes to the object *pāsādaṃ*. It is to be noted that nothing is said about the spot where this temple of the Tooth Relic was built. A. M. Hocart assumes that it must have stood in the Dīpuyyāna, since the kings used to keep the sacred relic near the palace. He says (Memoirs ASC. II. 4): "Perhaps that puzzling structure called the Mausoleum, without doors or windows may be the temple in question." V. 130 seems on the other hand to contradict this. However the Tooth Relic was in Rohaṇa in the early times of Parakkama. Its recapture is first described in the following chapter. If then Mahinda's building was to serve for the keeping of it, its recapture was either actually expected or the structure belongs to the time after the close of the campaign described in Chap. 74. Cf. also 74. 198 ff.

[1] This seems to be the king of that name mentioned in 41. 65. The name of the queen is given in v. 142.

[2] Cf. above v. 41 with the note.

145 death"[1]. Thus as she knew the short-lived nature of beings who wander about the ocean of existences, and as she knew that there was no firm hold there that could compare with
146 meritorious works, so she was unwearied in much well-doing, and as thereby she achieved her speedy escape from the cycle
147 (of rebirths) she built in the midst of the town a vast golden thūpa[2], as it were a golden ship to reach the saving shore of Nirvana.

148 Further in this beautiful town the all-wise (king) had different kinds of streets laid down, many hundreds in number, adorned with many thousands of dwellings of two, three and
149 more storeys and provided with various bazaars where all wares were to be had and in which day by day there was
150 incessant traffic of elephants, horses and chariots — (streets) which were here and there enlivened by people who were ever indulging in great games.

151 Then he laid down in the vicinity three suburbs called
152 Rājavesībhujanga, Rājakulantaka and Vijita, adorned with three three-storeyed pāsādas which possessed every excellence
153 and every beauty, and crowned by three vihāras which were
154 named Veḷuvana, Isipatana and Kusinārā[3]. But between the

[1] The strophe is taken from Saṃyutta 4. 9. 6 (= I 108). It is worth noting that in S. the Sinhalese MSS. have in the same way as here in the Mhvs. the reading *hīleyyanaṃ*, whereas the parallel to the preceding strophe requires *hīleyya naṃ*, which seems to be the Burmese reading. There can of course be no question of our correcting the passage, since the author without doubt followed the Sinhalese tradition, though erroneous. In its proper form the translation of the quotation runs: ... 'Short is the life of man, the pious man will despise it, he will live as if etc. etc.'

[2] H. C. P. Bell (ASC. 1909 = VI. 1914, p. 6) has already identified this with the thūpa of the so-called Pabulu-vehera, situated within the ramparts, thus in the town itself and in its northeastern part.

[3] In the account 78. 79 ff. the three *sākhānagarā* are called 1. Rājavesībhujanga, 2. Sīhapura (instead of Rājakulantaka) and 3. Vijita and the vihāras built in them are given in order as Isipatana (in 1), Kusinārā (in 2) and Veḷuvana (in 3). I believe the designation *Rājakulantaka* ('end, i. e. starting point, of the dynasty') is an allusion to Sīhapura, for this was the name of the town founded by Vijaya's father Sīhabāhu (Mhvs. 6. 35) in Lāḷaraṭṭha. To identify the suburb of Vijita with the

royal palace and the three towns the monarch had built at a distance of a gāvuta[1] from each other, charming sermon houses and image chapels[2] and splendid vihāras adorned with rest- 155
houses for bhikkhus from all four regions of the heavens.

In the town Pulatthi(nagara) by name furnished thus with 156
all accessories and provided with every luxury, like to a garden made beautiful by union with the joy of spring, which he 157
himself enlarged so that it was four gāvutas long and seven gāvutas[3] broad, which bore his name — the beauteous one — 158
which possessed a splendid wreath of walls, which was resplendent with fair dwellings, which contained large as well as small streets, which was an elixir for the eyes — (in this town) 159
the Lord of men who was like to Purimdada (Indra), who was skilled in the preserving of all advantages, those not yet achieved 160
and those already achieved, had fourteen gates erected: the superb King's Gate[4], the beautiful Lion Gate, the great Ele- 161
phant Gate, further the Indra Gate, the gate called after Hanumant[5], the lofty Kuvera Gate, the brightly painted Caṇḍī Gate, as well as the Rakkhasa Gate[6], the high-towering Ser- 162

town of the same name mentioned in Mhvs. 7. 45 is quite unhistorical. But it is not impossible that the suburb was named after that town. The three monasteries were called after especially sacred places: ... Veḷuvana after the park near Rājagaha which was given to Buddha by Anāthapiṇḍika; Isipatana after the park in Benares where Buddha preached his first sermon; and Kusinārā after the place where he entered Nirvana. For Veḷuvana see below note to 78. 87.

[1] Cf. 78. 91, 85. 20. According to the Kauṭalīya 2. 20 a *gāvuta* (skr. *gavyūta* or *goruta*) would be the equivalent of 1/4 *yojana* (cf. note to 38. 68 and I, p. 349) that is, if the Indian yojana as is likely, is the standard of measurement, a little over two miles (according to the Buddhist *yojana* the half of that).

[2] P. *saddhammapaṭimāghare* = *saddhammaghare paṭimāghare ca.*

[3] If we reckon the *gāvuta* as over two miles then what is meant here could not possibly be the city with its ramparts alone which reached nothing like these dimensions, but the outlying open town as well.

[4] For the King's Gate, *rājadvāra*, see note to 74. 199.

[5] The monkey king, Rāma's ally in his campaign against Rāvaṇa, king of Laṅkā.

[6] For Kuvera see note to 37. 106, for the rakkhasas note to 39. 34. Caṇḍī (the same in Skr.) is a name of the goddess Durgā, wife of Śiva.

pent Gate and the resplendent Water Gate, further the Garden
163 Gate and the beautiful Māyā Gate[1], the Mahatittha Gate[2], and the splendid Gandhabba Gate[3]

164 In this manner did king Parakkamabahu who possessed the firmness of the king of the mountains, whose intelligence was sharp as the thunderbolt, make the aforetime small town of Pulatthinagara which had suffered by many wars, splendidly adorned as the city of the Tāvatiṃsa gods

Here ends the seventy-third chapter, called «Account of the Rebuilding of Pulatthinagara», in the Mahāvaṃsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious

[1] Maya is the name of the mother of Gotama Buddha.

[2] Through this gate ran in all probability the road leading to Anuradhapura and from here to the well known port Mahatittha on the western shore of Ceylon

[3] P *gandhabba* = Skr *gandharva*, denotes a group of semi divine beings who are regarded as the heavenly musicians They are the male counterpart of the *accharā* the nymphs

CHAPTER LXXIV

ACCOUNT OF THE FESTIVAL OF THE TOOTH RELIC

With the idea that the original capital[1] Anurādhapura 1
which had been utterly destroyed in every way by the Coḷa
army, was specially deserving of honour, since its soil was 2
hallowed while he lived[2] by the feet of the Master, distin-
guished by the wheel with its thousand spikes and its rim,
and because it was the place where the southern branch of 3
the sacred Bodhi tree (was planted) and where a doṇa[3] of
relics was preserved — (with this idea) the Lord of men be- 4
gan to take in hand its restoration. Hereupon the discerning 5
Lord of men summoned a high dignitary and instructed him
in accordance with his wishes. The latter accepted the charge 6
without disregarding it in any way, with bent head, made
obeisance with clasped hands, betook himself to Anurādhapura 7
and himself acquainted with the appropriate action, began to
carry out to the uttermost the king's command. Within the 8
compass of the capital of the former kings the skilled one
restored within a short time the large and the small walls,
the streets, the pāsādas and the gate towers. the charming 9

[1] P. *mūlarājadhānī*. The word *mūla°* has a twofold meaning, that of "original" (as for instance in *mūlabhāsā* "primitive language") and that of „first" (to which everything else goes back, as in *mūlāmacca* "first dignitary"), of "important", "pre-eminent".

[2] According to the legend the Buddha also visited the site of the future Anurādhapura during his three sojourns in Laṅkā. The picture of the wheel on the sole of the foot is one of the 32 great bodily marks of a *mahāpurisa* (see D. II. 17), who will either become a great world ruler or a Buddha.

[3] A measure of capacity used specially for corn. Skr. *droṇa*.

bathing-ponds and the delightful gardens as they had been
10 formerly, also the cetiyas of the three fraternities, the Mahā-
cetiya and the others, as well as the numerous vihāras such
11 as the Lohapāsāda and the like, as well as the pāsāda serving
him as dwelling, with its gates, bastions and towers, with its
12 royal courtyard, and embellished with a charming moon
chamber, and brought it about that the whole town furnished
13 with these and other marvellous works was as aforetime Thus
he had the buildings set up by many former kings repaired
14 in haste by one of his dignitaries For all wishes are fulfilled
for the wise who partake of the harvest of good deeds
accumulated in many existences

15 Hereupon the all-wise (Prince) laid the foundations of the
town called Parakkama(pura)[1] It was furnished with gates
16 and towers, with walls, moats, streets, pāsādas and shops and
adorned with parks which were embellished with pāsadas,
erected there for the shelter of many hundreds of bhikkhus
17 who strove after moral discipline and other virtues It was
superb, prosperous and wealthy like Ālakamandā, the town
of the gods, and ever crowded with people

18 Then he issued orders as to the way in which the officials
appointed over the various districts of the island of Sīhala
19 *should collect without loss the taxes levied on each district*
without oppressing the people in their particular territory
20 Further in every month on the four Uposatha days, in ponds
and all other places in the island of Lankā for all creatures

[1] A Parakkamapura is mentioned in 72. 161 It must have been situated in Dakkhiṇadesa. If that is the town meant here, *kārāpesi* in v 17 can only refer to its restoration and embellishment. Moreover Pulatthinagara itself bore the name of Parakkamapura. It was according to 73 157 *allandamankulu* just as under Vijayabāhu I it was called according to the Velakkara inscr (EZ. II 246) Vijayarājapura. I consider it not improbable that verses 15 to 17 also refer to Pulatthinagara and its restoration and that the compiler who found the two names in different sources, referred them erroneously to two different towns. What he tells us of this Parakkamapura is in any case nothing more than the usual customary phrases. Pūjav and Rājav say nothing about the founding of a town Parakkamapura.

without exception, such as game, fish and the like, living on 21
dry land and in the water he commanded safety (of life), he
who was himself threatened by no peril.

Now in the province of Rohaṇa numerous vassals after 22
the death of the Monarch Mānābharaṇa, deviated from the
right way[1]. Not knowing the character of King Parakkama, 23
and harassed in their hearts by fear they did not make their
appearance before the Sovereign. As they thought again and again 24
of their own shortcomings their terror was in course of time
redoubled. They knew in truth quite well that the great 25
courage of that lion-like King could not be surpassed by others:
all they thought of was that not a day's life would remain 26
to them once the union of the kingdom had taken place[2], but
they thought not at all of the further course (of events).
With speeches like this: "shall we ever permit a hostile army 27
even to set eyes on our country with its rivers, mountains
and ravines?" they brought all the inhabitants of the pro- 28
vince under their influence and betook themselves to the Queen-
mother Sugalā[3]. "Thy grief, o Queen, called forth by Mānā- 29
bharaṇa's death, shall not torment thy heart as it pleases.
Who then so long as we are in life, shall enter this our land 30
with its many inaccessible fastnesses?" With such like and 31
similar words they persuaded the Queen and all united, they
built at each difficult spot as far as the frontier of the 32
country, numerous fortifications, which were immovable even
by elephants, had trenches dug everywhere, placed there barri- 33

[1] P. *niggatikā*. The translation is uncertain. In Skr. *nirgati* does not occur in literature. W. "were brought to great distress . . . and had become utterly helpless." I start from the fundamental meaning "to go out of", i. e. the right way.

[2] P. *raṭṭhe saṃjātasaṃvaḍḍhe*. I believe that *saṃvaḍḍha* = Skr. *saṃvṛddha* stands here as so often, in place of the abstract, as only in that case is the proper construction of the compound possible. The union of the kingdom consists in the incorporation of Rohaṇa. The vassals fear that in such an event they will not escape justice.

[3] The consort of Sirivallabha (59. 45) and mother of the younger Mānābharaṇa.

cades of briars sharp-pointed as iron, made the roads in-
34 accessible with felled and fallen trees. Thereupon all the sol-
diers native to the province, thousands in number rebelled
35 and took up their place everyone in one of the big strong-
holds, girded for fight, well armed with offensive and defensive
36 weapons, full of violence, with strong forces[1]. The Queen
Sugalā who had not a mind capable of reflection and was
37 inclined herself by nature to evil, let the fatal words of these
people influence her. She made over to them the great pos-
38 sessions of pearls, jewels and the like over which she had
control, as well as the rich treasures belonging to the Tooth
and Alms-bowl Relics as if she were throwing them into the
39 fire, gave them office, ignorant of the right and the wrong
occasion, and began herself through them to start the revolt.
40 When the Lord of men Parakkama whose courage was
hardly to be surpassed, heard of these events he smiled gaily
41 and joyously. He summoned his general Rakkha by name,
a war-tried man, told him how matters stood exactly as he
42 had heard of them and spake to him (thus): "Arise in haste,
quench thoroughly the forest fire of the hostile army which
43 has broken out with a rain shower of arrows, appoint people
whom it is necessary to appoint, to keep the country in order
and come again quickly." Thereupon he sent him off with
strong forces.
44 Now the Sīhala and Kerala (mercenaries) dwelling in
Koṭṭhasāra[2] banded themselves together with the Velakkāra
45 force[3] and took counsel together: 'The Lord of men has sent
forth many famous warriors together with high dignitaries to

[1] Verses 32–35 form one sentence. The subject is [illegible] in 32 which is again repeated by *yodhā* in 34. The predicate is [illegible]. All the other verbs are gerunds with which are co-ordinated participles referring to the subject, or absolute locatives.

[2] The place lies not far from [illegible] in a [illegible]easterly (south or north-easterly) direction (see note to 61. 43). According to [illegible] it seems to have been a garrison for mercenaries.

[3] For the Keraḷas see note to 53. 5; for the Velakkāras note to 60. 36. It is plain from our passage that the Velakkāras were a troop of (Dravidian) mercenaries.

take Rohaṇa; let us meanwhile take possession of Rājaraṭṭha." And they all of one accord began the war. King Parakkama- 46
bāhu before whom every sovereign bowed, sent some digni- 47
taries who were heroes thither with fitting army and train.
He had those slain who deserved it, granted several villages 48
to those inhabitants living under a common selfgovernment,
had a number of other villages made into such as were de- 49
signed for the royal use[1] and free himself from fear[2] of any kind, he made an end of fear of the foe.

But after the general Rakkha had with bowed head, pro- 50
strate, received the command of the Great King he marched,
the highly-famed hero, from Pulatthinagara, betook himself 51
to the locality named Barabbala[3] and halted there. When the 52
whole of the forces in Rohaṇa together with the inhabitants of the province[4] received news, in accordance with the facts,
of his gradual approach, they came to the decision: "as long 53
as we are in life we shall not permit him to cross the fron-

[1] It is plain from this passage that certain villages had been assigned to the mercenaries for usufruct. In addition to the execution of their ringleaders (48 a b) they are now punished by the withdrawal of such villages which means a decrease in their revenues. Of the villages taken away some are allotted to peasant holders as communal property (*gaṇa*), others are declared royal property. I do not believe therefore, that W. is right in translating *gaṇa* by "assemblies of monks". *Gaṇa* here is rather the technical, administrative term (skr. the same, cf. BR. s. v. *gaṇa* 3). For mediaeval village constitution in Ceylon on which this passage throws a side-light, see H. W. Codrington, H C. p. 45 ff.

[2] P. *bhaya* includes the two concepts: fear (subjective) and danger (objective). Cf. above v. 21.

[3] H. W. Codrington discusses the campaigns described in 74. 50 ff. in his "Notes on Ceylon Topography in the twelfth century" II. Unfortunately the place names mentioned in verses 50—78 cannot be determined. Later details show however, that this part of the campaign took place in the districts on the right bank of the Mahaveliganga, mainly in Bintenne and the adjoining regions. Barabbala, Kaṇṭakavana, Ambalala, Sava, Divācandantabāṭava, Kiṃsukavatthu, Vaṭarakkhatthalī, Dāṭhāvaḍḍhana and Sahodara are unknown.

[4] P. *mahācamū* and *raṭṭhavāsino:* contrast beetween the regular army and the militia.

54 tier of our kingdom and enter here", and with great fury,
recking nothing of their life, they marched to the same place
55 intent on the opening of hostilities Thereupon the general
Rakkha gave this army fearful battle, slew many soldiers,
56 broke through the trees which they had felled and flung across
the road, and with large forces reached the place called
57 Kaṇṭakavana[1]. He fought with the hostile army that had
taken up its position there by the building of a stronghold,
58 *broke through the fortifications, forced an entrance and after*
robbing many thousand warriors of their life, he marched
59 farther and came to the place called Ambalala He offered
battle to the army stationed there, broke through the strong-
60 hold there and made the whole battlefield full of flesh and
blood Then he marched from there farther, broke through
61 the strong fortification of Sava and slew many soldiers Be-
yond this lay the forest Divācandantabaṭava hemmed in on
62 both sides of the accessible road by high mountains, and where
just at its heart the road was endangered and all traffic made
impossible by many huge trees which they had felled and
63 thrown down In this forest from one to two gāvutas in extent
the hostile army had laid down one behind the other seven
very inaccessible fortifications whose stout gates were not to
64 be shaken even by rutting elephants Against this army that
had firmly determined "we shall in no case permit him to
enter as he thinks fit into any single stronghold occupied by
65 us[2]" he delivered for several months day and night terrible
66 battles and while he slaughtered many thousands of warriors
together with their leaders, the general Rakkha with large
forces took up a position on the spot[3]

[1] I e "Thorn wood" The part. *chindanto* is parallel with *m* [illegible] in 55c *chind* [illegible] is subordinate to the part *pātite* Cf *chi* [illegible] *tarukkhehi* in 53c as also *chind* [illegible] *p* [illegible] (*rukkhehi*) in 62b.

[2] I should prefer here to place the full stop after *subbath* [illegible] and thus take the word in the *oratio recta* For the position of *iti* see note to 57 [illegible]

[3] Verses 55—66 form one sentence Subj [illegible] *Rakkhacamunatho* in 55a again repeated by [illegible] in 66d [illegible] is *nisidittha* in 66c The construction in v 61—65 is as follows "after he in the

When the hero, the Great King Parakkama, heard during 67
his sojourn in Pulatthinagara from the mouth of the mes-
sengers of Rakkha's constant battles, he gave orders to the 68
Adhikārin Bhūta who dwelt in his palace thus: "An indecisive
struggle for so long a time with these wretched rebels is
fitting neither for me nor for thee; smite in pieces according 69
to these my orders the whole of the fortifications along with
their gates, slay the whole of the numerous army and send 70
me then speedily a true report of these doings." He assigned
him numbers of soldiers and sent this man experienced in the 71
art of war, to the scene of the fight[1].

Hereupon Bhūta marched forth from superb Pulatthinagara 72
and joined with strong forces the commander-in-chief Rakkha.
Without in any way departing from the orders of the illustrious 73
Lord of men, they both had doublets of buffalo hide made
(for their men) for protection against the arrows, made the 74
great army ready for battle, offered a sharp encounter, slew
numerous warriors, many hundreds in number, broke through 75
the seven strongholds, laid down as they were one behind
the other, started from there again and came to the village
of Kiṃsukavatthuka[2]. Here too they fought a fearful, bitter 76
fight. Then after they had set out from there and had reached
Vaṭarakkhatthalī, and after they had here destroyed a hostile 77

forest D. (61 d) . . . (there follow the attributes 61 d to 63 a) . . . with the army (65 b), which, after it . . . had set up fortifications (63 b — 64 a), was firmly determined . . . had fought (65 d) . . ."

[1] It is plain that Rakkha's action in the difficult ground of the Divācandantabāṭava forest had come to a standstill. Bhūta is sent to his aid. Cf. further the note to v. 90.

[2] Here one might assume the end of the sentence, since the part. *yātā* may be regarded as a finite verb. But the subject changes in the sentence. In v. 72 the sing. *so* is subject; but *yātā* must be supplemented by an *ubho* (after Bhūta's joining with Rakkha). *Mārento* which is the reading of all the MSS. (= skr. *mārayantaḥ*) must also be taken as plural. In the continuation of the sentence there is again a change of subject. At first as we see by *vattentā*, the plural (*ubho*) remains subject. Then in v. 78 it is the singular *Rakkhacamūnātho*. The preceding gerundives in verses 76—78 b are to be treated as loc. abs.

army which had approached from various directions, and there-
78 upon offered battle at the village called Dāṭhāvaḍḍhana and
had further fought an action at the village called Sabodara,
79 the general Rakkha who had large forces and train with him,
sent on many thousands of warriors of his own neighbourhood[1]
80 to do away with the hostile army at Lokagalla. Then he de-
stroyed a vast hostile army that approached with the intention
meanwhile of overwhelming the commander-in-chief (Rakkha),
and retired[2].

81 The great four-membered army that had marched to Loka-
galla so utterly destroyed the division there that only the
82 tidings thereof remained, took away from it all its possessions[3]

[1] I take *ṭhapetvāna* in the sense of "putting aside for a particular purpose" By the removal of a considerable part of Rakkha's troops the foe is emboldened to make fresh attacks The operations which H. W CODRINGTON certainly interprets aright l. c, now become topo graphically intelligible Events hitherto have taken place along a line east of the Mahaveliganga Rakkha probably follows the main road leading from Dastota by way of Mahiyangaṇa (Alut nuvara) to Bibile With CODRINGTON we may look for Sabodaragāma somewhere in the region of Bibile Here Rakkha is forced to halt, to secure in the first place his threatened right flank. The name Lokagalla without doubt corresponds to the modern Loggala. There is a small river of this name which rises on the saddle of Passara and flows northwards to the Mahaveliganga which it joins just where the river bends at right angles to the north I am informed by Mudaliyar WANASUNDARA Badulla that an old short cut led across the saddle of Passara from Buttala along the Loggala oya to the Mahaveliganga The rebels had reckoned with the possibility that the enemy might use this road for their advance and had occupied it Rakkha however, advances farther east along the main road A farther penetration southwards lays him open to the risk however, of being attacked in the flank from Loggala or cut off in the rear Hence the expedition in this direction briefly described here.

[2] All MSS have *palayati*. I will not risk altering it. Moreover it makes good sense Rakkha cannot for the moment advance. He is content to release himself from the foe who is pressing hard on him. Too much stress need not be laid upon the *mārelvā* "cut up" in 80 d It merely expresses the successful defence.

[3] W translates: .. "Yet could they not completely cut off their great resources." He has misunderstood *acchinditvāna*. What we have to do

and betook itself then to the place where the commander-in-chief was sojourning. The two armies joined forces, advanced 83
to Majjhimagāma[1] and here made the firm resolve: "We shall not permit the commander-in-chief in Lokagalla to seize the 84
sacred Tooth Relic and the precious Alms-bowl Relic[2]." At 85
the village of Kaṇṭakadvāravāta[3] they fought a great battle with the hostile army, destroyed the troops of the enemy and then marched to Uddhanadvāra. With the hostile army which 86
after laying down fortifications, had taken up a position there they fought a severe action, blew up the fortifications along 87
with their gates, destroyed many of the enemy and took up a position in that village to equip army and train (anew). Queen Sugalā took the sacred relics, the Tooth and the Alms- 88
bowl, and betook herself to Uruvelā[4].

with here is not the *a* priv. + *chind°*, but the frequently used verb *acchindati* "to take away by force" (skr. *ā* + *chid*; cf. PTS. P. D. s v.) The *dhanajātaṃ* which has been taken away consists of course of elephants, horses, chariots, arms.

[1] Now Medagama, 10 miles south of Bibile. It still lies on the highroad leading from Mahāgāma in the south to Polonnaruva. According to H. W. Codrington to the south of Medagama lately a milestone was discovered with a short inscription of Nissaṅka Malla (letter of 20th Dec. 1927).

[2] *Lokagallaṭṭhasenānāthādhikārino* cannot possibly be the subject of the principal sentence as W. assumes. That must be sought rather in *dve senā* in 83a. There is no reason either why the generals who had fought at Loggala should be so set upon the gaining of the sacred relics. In a far greater degree was this the case with Rakkha. The idea is rather this: Parakkama's generals fear that the hostile troops which had been defeated at Lokagalla might withdraw to the main army and there insist above all on safeguarding the relics, since all was already lost in the field. This Rakkha and his followers were determined at all costs to prevent.

[3] H. W. Codrington compares this with a present Katupelella. I cannot find the name either in the Census or on the map. Sinh. *peḷella* means "gate" = P. *dvāra*.

[4] For Uddhanadvāra see note to 61. 16. It was situated near Monaragala, thus about 10 to 12 miles SSE. of Medagama. According to 61. 25 it was the capital of that part of Rohaṇa called Aṭṭhasahassa which was ruled by Sirivallabha. Here his widow Sugalā lived and the sacred relics were kept in her neighbourhood. Uruvelā whither she

89 But for the purpose of disposing of the hostile army in
90 Dīghavāpi[1] the Lord of men Parakkama had sent forth with
an army the Adhikārin Kitti and the Jīvitapotthakin Kitti and
yet other dignitaries with a thoroughly equipped army and
91 train[2]. They engaged the foe who coming from the direction
of Erāhulu[3], had taken up a position at the village called
92 Givulaba, in a terrible battle, broke through their fortifications
there, killed many enemies, started from there again and
93 reached Uddhagāma There they laid down fortifications, carried
on war for three months and put the great army to flight
94 With a hostile army that had erected fortifications near the
locality called Hihobu, had dug trenches and spread thorn
95 bushes, and which with massed troops had taken up a position
96 ready for combat, they then fought a terrible battle They broke
through the whole stronghold together with the gates and
entered by force repulsing each attack with a hail of arrows[4].
97 Thereupon they advanced farther and scattered as before, a
hostile army that at a spot about a gāvuta in extent beside
98 the village of Kirindagāma had as before set up fortifications
and there taken up a position, and halted with vast forces at
the place called Dīghavāpi[5]

brought them for safety is identified with good reason by Codrington with Etimole which is situated about 5 to 6 miles south east of Monaragala. What is curious is that Sugalā when she is forced to flee, does not put a greater distance beetwen herself respectively the relics, and the enemy

[1] Parker (Ancient Ceylon, p 396) was the first as far as I know, to identify this and rightly so with Mahakandiyaveva, 25 to 30 miles NE of Bibile and about the same distance SW of Batticaloa The Ratemahatmaya Bibile assured me that the old name Dikveva is still well known among the people

[2] I do not believe that the expedition is only now set going after the occupation of Uddhanadvāra by Rakkha It is far more likely that it was begun earlier by the two Kittis, probably sent of by Parakkama at the same time with Bhūta The author is going back in his description

[3] Codrington is assuredly right in identifying this with the present district Eravur, NW of Batticaloa.

[4] Lit. They made the combat one where it was difficult for anyone to come near (*durāsa lam*)

[5] The single localities mentioned such as *Uddhagāma*, *Hihobu*,

The Ruler of men, Parakkama, the best of far-seeing men, 99
sent to his dignitaries who were at that place, the fol-
lowing message: "Shattered[1] in combat the foe is in flight. 100
They have seized the splendid sacred relics of the Alms-bowl
and the Tooth and are fain, through fear, to cross the sea. 101
So have I heard. If this is so, then the island of Laṅkā will
be desolate. For though here on the Sīhala island various 102
jewels and pearls and the like and costly kinds of various
precious stones are found, yet of quite incomparable costliness 103
are the two sacred relics of the Lord of truth, the Tooth and
the Alms-bowl. At the cost of much valuable property and 104
by the constant amassing of well-tried and armed warriors I
have freed this superb island of Laṅkā from every oppression, 105
but all my pains would be fruitless[2]. My head adorned with 106
a costly diadem sparkling with the splendour of various precious
stones, would only be consecrated[3] by the longed-for contact 107
with the two sacred relics of the Great Master, the Tooth
and the Alms-bowl. Therefore must ye all, with the same 108
end in view, with army and train and without in any way
departing from the orders I give, conquer the hostile army 109
and speedily send me the splendid Tooth Relic and the sacred
Alms-bowl." The Adhikārin Kitti by name who was in the 110
district of Dīghavāpi, received his message with bowed head,
and with his division after assembling about him the many 111
leaders, he marched to the place which the commander-in-chief

Kirinda cannot be determined. At any rate this Kirinda is different from the place of the same name on the coast south of Tissamahārāma. Doubtless however, these events took place on a line running from north to south west of Batticaloa. Moreover the object of the whole undertaking is intelligible. By pressure on the right wing of the enemy the thrust against the main position in the centre at Uddhanadvāra was to be eased. The army columns then unite at Uddhanadvāra for the decisive blow (v. 111, 113).

[1] P. *bhinditvā* in a passive sense. See Cūlavs. ed. I, Introd. p. XV.

[2] Lit. "These by me, the island liberator, made efforts will be perfectly (*kāmaṃ* "at one's own pleasure") fruitless."

[3] P. *parittito* (lit. "purified") with reference to *uttamaṅgaṃ*, because this ("the head") is only a paraphrase for the person ("my head" = "I").

112 (Rakkha) was occupying A vast army consisting of hostile divisions and inhabitants of the country[1], advanced with all
113 its leaders, plentifully supplied with arms, equipped for combat, brave, a veritable host of heroes, against the village of
114 Uddhanadvara, full of lust for battle "Of the enemy who have invaded our country we shall not let a single foe escape
115 On the road which would be the line of retreat of the foe we shall place barricades and make the roads to an extent
116 of two to three gāvutas impassable and round about the terri-
117 tory occupied by the enemy cut off the supply of food Then when the whole hostile army is weakened we shall fight an action with it in which because of our rain of arrows they
118 will have difficulty in approaching us[2], and destroy them' So thought the army and after it had in the way above described, put up strong barricades it took up a position,
119 keen for battle Thereupon the Adhikārin Bhūta, the commander-in-chief Rakkha and the Adhikārin called Kitti, the
120 heroes, crushers of the hostile army, after equipping their great army on the battle field advanced thence according to
121 orders all together and destroyed in a terrible combat a great number of soldiers so that nought but their name remained They broke with large forces through the stronghold called
122 Mahariyara, marched thence farther, assembled all of them at the place Voyalaggama by name and war-experienced (as they
123 were) took up a position there The hostile army which was lying opposite in the district called Sumanagalla they destroy-
124 ed in the way described above, and after they had in a terrible battle which was fought at the place called Badaguna scattered in desperate battle the entire army of the foe which stood here
125 and had also put to flight in combat the whole army which after laying down fortifications in the district called Uruvelā, had
126 taken up their position there, they took possession of the

[1] I read *sapattaraggika* and believe this adjective belongs to the *mahācamu* of the following compound We have thus again the distinction between the regular troops and the militia

[2] Cf above v 96 and note

splendid relics of the sacred Bowl and of the sacred Tooth
and halted on the spot at the head of their mighty army[1].

At that time an officer of King Mānābharaṇa, the general 127
by name Sūkarabhātudeva, the foolish one, who had been placed 128
in chains by King Parakkama, had burst his fetters and had
escaped to Rohaṇa. Then the Ruler of men summoned the 129
Adhikārin Mañju[2] and spake to him (thus): "The general
Sūkarabhātu has fled to his country, thou must come up with 130
him before he has gained a hold anywhere." Therewith
the Lord of men sent him off. He betook himself from Pu- 131
latthinagara to the place called Sāpatagamu[3]. There he fought
a great battle with the hostile army. He slew many soldiers 132
and after laying down a fortification took up a position him-
self there at the head of his large army.

Now[4] all the many rebels, each in his division, roused the 133
whole population of the country down to the very boys (in

[1] Herewith one object of the warlike operations has been attained. The actions described in vv. 119-126 must have taken place in a relatively limited territory SE. of the modern Monaragala. As the sequel shows, Parakkama's generals had obviously not yet advanced as far as Guttasālā (Buttala) (cf. v. 154, 156).

[2] It is remarkable that the MSS. have the form Mandin. Likewise 75. 152, 185. It is however beyond doubt that the same general is meant as the one mentioned in 74. 144, 75. 150 as Mañju.

[3] Codrington identifies this with the modern Hapatgamuva. It lies about 8 miles NW. of Badulla in the Viyaluva Korale, on the right bank of the Mahaveliganga at the spot where it flows from west to east. This throws light on the whole episode. Since Sūkarabhātu has crossed the Mahaveliganga, it may be said that he has escaped to Rohana. His object was plainly to organise the rebellion in Malaya, in the rear and flank of Rakkha's troops. For that reason Parakkamabāhu is forced to send a new division against him. Mañju suppresses the movement in Malaya, Sūkarabhātu himself however, escapes, joins the rebels in position opposite Rakkha, and takes over the leadership here in the sequel (see v. 153). Mañju remains posted for the moment in order to safeguard the flank of the main army.

[4] I believe that v. 132 closes the Sūkarabhātu episode for the moment, The sequel takes place as v. 136 shows, in front of Rakkha's army. A more exact localisation is impossible, since the individual places cannot be identified. The situation only becomes clear again in v. 154.

134 open revolt) With the firm resolve, even at the sacrifice of their life, not to give up the two relics of the Tooth and of
135 the Alms-bowl, they assembled with hostile intent, mastered
136 by insolence, at the village called Bhattasūpa Thereupon the commander-in-chief Rakkha, as also the Adhikārin Kitti and
137 the Adhikarin Bhūta and many other officers gave terrible battle to the hostile army, and skilled in war as they were,
138 let not two escape by the same way They took, in loyal devotion to the King, the Tooth Relic and the Bowl Relic with them, instituted a great sacrificial festival and withdrew
139 unthreatened from any quarter Now the whole hostile army, well equipped, having taken up arms with fury, gathered
140 together from every side[1] at the place called Demaṭavala and
141 fought a mighty, terrible and horror-rousing battle[2] By the (corpses of the) men slain in the terrible fight and (the mass of) the cast-off weapons the commander (Rakkha) and the
142 other dignitaries, left (the foe) on every side not even room to place their feet, and after taking[3] with them the splendid relics of the sacred Bowl and of the sacred Tooth, they reached the village named Sappanārukokilla

143 Carried off by an attack of dysentery, the commander Rakkha now went thither in accordance with his doing — all
144 living forms are indeed transitory The two adhikārins Mañju and Kitti by name[4] without omitting any honour due to his

[1] Demaṭavala according to CODRINGTON is now even the name for Okkampitiya which lies a few miles E of Buttala. Popular tradition identifies the vihara of Okkampitiya with the monastery where Saddhatissa found refuge after his defeat in battle by his brother Duṭṭhagāmaṇi See Mhvs 24 39 ff

[2] Verse 140 a is hopelessly corrupt According to the somewhat high handed emendation of S and B. W translates (the whole army of the enemy) that was at Vápi

[3] Note that the line *gahetvā pavare dāṭhāpattadhātubhalantike* is exactly the same as v 126 a b Nevertheless *gahetvā* in the two places must be taken in a different sense As in this passage a sloka of 6 padas appears in the same way as these appear elsewhere the line may be a later addition The intention was to stress that Rakkha took the relics along with him on all his expeditions Cf v 138

[4] One expects that along with Kitti Bhūta would be mentioned

rank, carried out the ceremonies of the dead[1]. Now that the 145
wise commander was dead and the Ruler of men tarried afar
off, they brought together with exceeding energy the whole 146
army of the Sovereign who was endowed with terrible courage,
and while these heroes allowed no possibility of any sort for 147
any kind of panic and celebrated a great festival for the two
sacred relics, they sent their report to the illustrious Ruler 148
of men and tarried yet a few days on the spot. When the 149
Sovereign Parakkama heard of these events he had erected[2]
on the spot where the commander had been burnt, a vast 150
alms-hall with four entrances, and in order to honour (the
dead) by sacrifice he sent the (following) order: "Collect for 151
those bhikkhus coming from the four regions of the heavens
and for the other bhikkhus a plentiful gift of alms." (Thus)
he (commanded), the best among the grateful, the first among
those who have attained knowledge. The two experienced 152
commanders joyfully carried out the order in fitting manner
and remained on the spot.

The rebels thought, since the commander-in-chief was dead 153
and they (themselves) had gained a leader in Sūkarabhātu,
they would meanwhile try for victory, and all gathered to- 154
gether in the district of Guttasālā[3]. When the vast, foe- 155
crushing army of King Parakkama heard that, it advanced 156
with its leaders, fighting at various places a severe action,
from all sides against the district of Guttasālā. Thereupon all 157

here. Cf. the association in v. 119, 136. Mañju is still in position (v. 166 ff.) in the N. W., in Malaya. He had thus merely to be summoned to the funeral rites.

[1] P. *petakiccāni*. According to the Brahmanical view as it is here and often expressed in ceremonial, the deceased before he is admitted to the world of the manes, becomes a *preta* a "roaming soul". The *ekoddiṣṭaśrāddha* is offered to the preta. Hillebrandt, Ritualliteratur p. 90.

[2] I am now of opinion that direct speech begins first at 150 c. The gerund *kāretvā* is, as seems clear from 149 cd, to be subordinated to the finite verb *pesesi*.

[3] Now the modern Buttala. See note to 51. 109. The scene of the contests and the further course of the operations is now again perfectly clear.

the rebels gave up this village and withdrew through fear to
158 the village (and) district of Mahāgāma[1]. When the Sovereign
Parakkama heard of these events he of matchless bravery sent
159 a messenger with the order: "That ye fight as chance wills
it, while dragging the relics about from village to village
160 pleaseth me not. Send ye both relics at once to me." When
161 the commanders of the army received this massage they with
the intention of sending the sacred relics, the Tooth and the
162 Bowl to Pulatthinagara, entrusted an officer with their care,
started from the village called Hintālavanagāma, and after they
163 had as before fought a terrible battle with the approaching
hostile army at Khīragāma[2] and had put it to flight on all
164 sides, they entered Khīragāma, fought here also a severe action
and cut down many. Then they marched farther from that
place, fighting at Tanagaluka, and Sukhagirigāma, at Kaṭa-
165 dorāvāda[3] and Ambagalla[4], as well as at Taṇḍulapatta like-
wise a furious action, and after bringing hither with great
pomp both relics, the Tooth and the Bowl, they sent them
166 to the Adhikārin Mañju. This (officer) had at the village
called Sākhāpatta[5] and at Lokagalla cut down many soldiers
and brought all the dwellers in (the district of) Dhanumaṇḍala[6]

[1] Now Magama, the old capital of Rohaṇa (see note to 45. 42) in the agricultural district of Tissamahārāma.

[2] Khīragāma is the place where according to 79. 71 (cf. note to the passage) a cetiya was erected to Queen Ratanāvalī who was cremated there. Codrington as he informs me by letter (20th Dec. 1927), has discovered this stūpa in Badalkumbura near Alupota in the Kandukara Korale, about halfway between Buttala and Medagama. It is situated not far from the old high road. It is not impossible that we have to do in v. 162 ff. with movements of retreat in a northerly direction from Buttala, since Bhūta and Kitti were trying to get into touch with Mañju. For Hintālavanagāma see also note to 75. 7.

[3] Perhaps the same as the Kaṇṭakadvāravāta mentioned 74. 85. Thus Codrington.

[4] W. separates the compound *Kaṭadorāvādambagallake* into *Kaṭadorāvā Dambagallake* which I consider impossible.

[5] According to Codrington the same as Sūpatagamuva; certainly right. The latter form is nearer to the Sinhalese.

[6] The mention of Lokagalla now Loggala (see note to 74. 79) shows

into his power. He was stationed there, went forth to meet 167
the relics of the Tooth and the Bowl, celebrated for them
sacrificial festivals day and night, entrusted the Kammanātha 168
Añjana with the care of the relics and sent the two relics to
the Great King. Thereupon he set forth, marched to the vil- 169
lage called Bokusala and held counsel, being versed in counsel,
with all the dignitaries: "Our foes know their own country. 170
When we come near them they disperse on every side, pene-
trate then (again) into the territory that we have brought 171
into our power, in order to conquer it, and vex the people.
But would our master, the world conqueror, prize as much as 172
a blade of grass, a kingdom even if it were utterly subdued,
but by disregard of his commands, he who knows the
course of war? Therefore will we honour the command of 173
our illustrious monarch and in order that the foe may not be
able to return to the territory[1] already subdued by us, post 174
there at different places a strong force with officers, and when
thus our enemies have their roots cut off by us, we will set 175
forth to lay our heads at the foot lotus of our master." Thus
he resolved who was wise among those who understand de-
cisions. Hereupon all the dignitaries who agreed with his 176
words, set forth with the vast army, ready for battle, and 177
marched to the village of Vālivāsaragāma in a district where
many roads meet. After they had arrived there and deprived
many foes of their life, they set forth thence and built a 178
fortification at the place called Balapāsāṇa. Having posted
there the Laṅkāpura[2] Kitti and another large army consisting 179

that Mañju was still in position near the place where he had come into contact with Sūkarabhātu (74. 131 and note). From 70. 17 it is clear that Dhanumaṇḍala was a district in Malaya, approximately corresponding to the present Viyaluva division.

[1] The gen. *vasīkatassa ṭhānassa* stands instead of the loc. governed by *pavisanti*. Cf. Cūlav. ed. I, Introd. p. XVI.

[2] W. translates "Kitti and Laṅkāpura". He takes the last-named apparently for the general of this name (76. 83) often mentioned in the sequel to whom apparently 70. 218 also refers. According to the last passage this Laṅkāpura was the son of the Laṅkādhinātha Kitti.

of the four members, all the dignitaries and leaders set forth
180 at the head of the main army with large forces to subdue
from one strip of country to the other the numerous rebel
in the district called Dīghavāpi[1]
181 Meanwhile the Ruler of the kingdom, King Parakkamabāhu
tarried in beauteous Pulatthinagara where there was no war
182 trouble Endowed with the gifts of faith and insight and
with the effects of many meritorious works, he the first among
183 those versed in art, spent the day in pleasant pastimes But
now when he learned that the relics were gradually drawing
nearer, he spake, his heart full of the greatest satisfaction
184 and joy "In truth a great gain for me! Blessed is my life,
the finest fruit of my labours for the peace of the realm is
185 mine now that I may behold and reverence these two relics
of the Monarch of sages" With these and the like exclama-
186 tions he the virtuous one, went forth well bathed, beautifully
clad, well anointed and beautifully adorned at the head of
187 the festively arrayed princes and dignitaries, like to the moon
in autumn when it is surrounded by the stars, the distance
188 of a yojana to meet (the relics) At the first glimpse he who
was honoured by the pious, honoured them with all kinds of
ornaments, with the most varied kinds of precious stones and
189 pearls, with costly jewels, with all kinds of incense, with lamps
190 and sweet-smelling flowers and with many perfumes giving
expression to his reverence, as if the Enlightened One were
191 still in life Unceasingly shedding tears of joy and with tiny
hairs bristling as if the inward rapture had burst forth,
192 beautifying his whole body, and with floods of the highest
joy making drunk his soul, as if he possessed limbs which
193 were overwhelmed by showers of the finest nectar, the stead-

[1] Mañju's plan was plainly this to suppress the revolts which were constantly breaking out in the rear of the army stationed at Guttasala Buttala, in the same way as he had until now covered the flank in Dhanumaṇḍala. Hence he now marched eastwards into the Dīghavāpi district. In Mhvs 75 3 4 Balapasāṇa is likewise associated with Dīgha vāpi Verses 176—180 form one sentence in which the subject *sabbe 'macca* (v 176) is once more repeated by *sabbe 'macca puth ind ca* (v 179)

fast one, the superb one bore the splendid Tooth Relic on his head, like to the Moon-bearer[1] who bears the crescent moon upon his head. He showed all his companions the two relics 194
while well versed in the sacred writings, he proclaimed their glory, and after he the all-wise had had a great sacrificial 195
festival celebrated by them (his companions) the Ruler of men had the relics laid down on the spot[2]. He who kept a watch 196
over all his senses, set up a strong guard; he commanded that gifts of every kind should be offered, and then his heart filled 197
with the joy of faith, he returned with his dignitaries and his train to his abode like god Brahmā to the Brahma palace.

Thereupon the King had erected in the middle of the 198
town for the Tooth Relic a splendid temple of fine proportions, like to the hall of assembly, Sudhammā[3]. From the King's 199
Gate onward[4] he had the road for the distance of a yojana made perfectly level like the palm of the hand. Then he who 200
had his joy in the welfare of all beings, had erected everywhere triumphal arches with coloured pictures on them that delighted the heart of the people, and beneath these outspread 201

[1] Name of Śiva who is represented with the crescent moon in the hair above his forehead.

[2] P. *tatth' eva*, i. e. just at the spot where he had raised the Tooth Relic to his head and showed it to his train. According to vv. 187, 199 it was about a yojana (that is about nine miles) from the southern door of the town. Here the relics are kept provisionally until their festive entry into the town.

[3] Skr. *sabhā sudharmā*, the hall of the god Indra. E. W. Hopkins, Epic Mythology, p. 58. It is difficult to say which building in Polonnaruva is meant by this *dāṭhādhātughara*. According to 73. 124 ff. Mahinda one of the king's followers, had built such a temple. Later on (78. 41) the circular building in Jetavanārāma is mentioned as the temple of the Tooth Relic. This one can however scarcely be meant in this passage, as it would be difficult to compare it with a *sabhā*. Probably the relics were changed about from place to place and this is reflected in a certain vagueness of the tradition.

[4] See 73. 160. As the relics were brought hither from the south we may assume that the King's Gate lay in this direction.. The loc. *rājadvāramhi* in place of the abl. with *paṭṭhāya* is explained by the influence of the metre. Likewise 75. 72.

canopies[1] tied with garlands of all kinds of flowers in gaily-
202 hued succession The pillars of the triumphal arches he decked
singly with different stuffs and the upper part he provided
203 with rows of umbrellas and whisks[2], with bunches of all kinds
of flowers, with fluttering cloths[3] and banners and other costly
204 things fit as votive offerings The two sides of the street he
embellished with fruit-bearing trees, such as sanniras[4], banana,
205 areka and coco palms and furnished them with vases filled
with charming nosegays, with all kinds of banners and pennons,
206 with lamps and incenses and the like, and adorned the road,
capable of distinguishing the true from the false way, like the
207 street Sudassana of the lord of the thirty gods[5] Then after he
who understood how to win good people for himself, had speedily
furnished the gate court of the temple of the Tooth Relic
208 like to (the town) Alakā[6], the Monarch had a priceless jewel
209 hollowed out and filled with sweet-smelling powder Here the
Increaser of the realm placed the superb Tooth Relic, then
210 laid the jewel in a casket of precious stones and this again
he placed in a costly box of gold But the Bowl Relic he
211 placed in a costly golden maṇḍapa that sparkled with the
rays of various precious stones, that was wonderful and
212 shimmering like the rainbow, that rested on four wheels, that
was indeed lovely and like to a bundle of rays of the rising
sun, on a beautifully arranged seat covered with costly carpets
213 in a sweet-smelling layer of flowers Then he capable of
maintaining what has been won, made people of the clan of

[1] P *vitanānam paṭānake*, lit 'outspreadings of canopies *Vicitra vannasamtane* precedes The stretching out of the canopies is described by the three derivatives of the root *tan* (with *vi*, *pa* and *sam*)

[2] The whisk, *cāmara*, made of the tail of the yak, bos grunniens, belongs like the umbrella to the insignia of royalty

[3] P *vitanehi* The word cannot mean canopy again here The instrumentals in v 202 d and 203 are governed by *sajjetva*

[4] Name of the king's cocopalm

[5] P *tidasindassa* Indra or Śakra is meant *Tridasa* is also in Skr a general designation for the gods Sudarsana is in epic poetry the name of Indra's palace (E. W Hopkins, Epic Mythology, p 55 141)

[6] The same as Alakamanda (37 106), town of the God Kuvera.

the Lambakaṇṇas with umbrellas, whisks and swords in their
hands and other people of noble families place themselves 214
round the maṇḍapa for its protection. Round about the 215
maṇḍapa he placed splendidly attired dancing girls in many
hundreds of (other) costly maṇḍapas, each of these being ac- 216
companied by people bearing lutes, flutes, drums and the like
in their hands and by bands of female musicians who were 217
like to the heavenly musicians[1], to do honour with their dance,
their song and their music (to the relics). With all kinds of 218
flowers, with incense and various perfumes he filled the town
with fragrance[2] and delighted the crowd of people. With the 219
light of many thousands of lamps he transformed the heavenly
regions and the intermediate regions into pure glory. With 220
rows of umbrellas and whisks, with rows of coloured banners
and all kinds of pennons he veiled the whole firmament. With 221
the trumpeting of elephants and the neighing of horses, with
the clatter of chariot wheels and the rattle of kettledrums;
with the enrapturing tone of all the festive shell trumpets, 222
with the roll of the great drums and the cries of victory of
the bards; with the shouts of acclamation and loud clapping 223
of hands and the jubilant cries (of the people) he filled the
regions of the heavens with noise[3]. The Monarch himself 224
arrayed with all his ornaments, mounted his favourite, beautiful
elephant[4] which was hung with coverings of gold, and sur-

[1] P. *gandhabbī*. The *gandhabbā*, skr. *gandharvāḥ* are semi-divine beings, the heavenly musicians. They are thought of as males, their feminine counterpart are the Apsaras. A feminine *gandhabbī* could only arise in the Pāli stage after the more general meaning "musician (pure and simple)" had been formed for the masculine alongside of the original meaning.

[2] P. *vāsayitvā* from the denom. *vāsay*. Likewise in Mhvs. 5. 139 "His seat after being perfumed, used to be hung up". My translation of that passage was wrong.

[3] P. *sādhukāraninādena*. By the constantly repeated cry of *sādhu* the people are accustomed to give expression to their joy and enthusiasm during festive processions. *Kārento mukharā disā,* lit.: "made the heavens talkative".

[4] P. *pavaraṃ nāgaṃ . . . subhaṃ*.

225 rounded by many dignitaries, who rode their steeds[1], he
226 went forth with great pomp[2] from the splendid town, betook
himself to the sacred Tooth Relic and to the glorious Bowl
Relic, reverenced them in worthy fashion with hands folded
227 on the brow, and while offering to them with his own hands
sweet-smelling flowers he went on his way with both relics[3]
228 Now at an unusual time a great cloud gathered spreading
herself forth[4] With her hollow rumbling she increased the
roll of the drums and with the bright bouquet of the rainbow
229 she adorned the space of the heavens She made lustrous
lightning quiver on all sides, an instructress for the dance
230 begun by the peacocks Together with the dust raised by
231 the hoof-beat of the horses she made the wreath of the sun's
rays disappear and veiled the whole firmament in thick darkness
232 When the dignitaries saw all this they thought again and
again she will pour forth violent rain to disturb the high
233 festival, and their hearts filled with sore trouble, they betook
themselves to the all-wise Ruler and considered what was to
234 be done But the Great King who knew the excess of his
own power and the unimaginable majesty of the great Sage,
235 spake (thus) "Be ye not troubled; here a marvellous high
festival is being celebrated that captivates the hearts of men
236 and gods, and I have set forth with unapproachable courage,
rich in merit, rich in wisdom, rich in glory, rich in fame
237 What god, what Māra and Brahmā would be able to hinder
238 the magnificent festival taken in hand by me? Harbour there-
fore no fear when ye convey the two relics, but set forth on

[1] P *vāhanārūḍhā* The word *vāhana* means it is true, not merely riding animals but vehicles of every kind, also chariots

[2] P *anubhāvena mahacca* seems to be a transposition of *mahacca anubhāvena* D I 49[32], M II 118[14] we have *mahacca rājānubhāvena* Buddhaghosa says (Sumv I 148[14]) *mahacca rājānubhāvenāti, mahatā ca rājānubhāvena, mahacca ti pi pāḷi, mahatiyā ti attho, liṅgavipariyāyo esa*

[3] Verses 193 to 227 form one sentence The principal verb is *pāpuṇi* The preceding verbs are gerunds or present participles

[4] Lit A great untimely cloud came up, spreading itself out (v 231 cd) increasing decorating etc making the whole firmament veiled in a mass of darkness

your way." With these words the discerning (prince) set forth.
Then the great cloud while filling all the ponds and rivers 239
outside the range of the festival with floods of rain, as she 240
approached the great procession, moved along before it and
rained just enough to lay the dust of the ground[1]. When all 241
the inhabitants of the town who had gathered together and
the virtuous sons of the Sage, many hundreds in number, saw
this miracle they cried: "In truth of great majesty is this 242
Ruler of men, the foe-subduer; in consequence of his high merit
he has appeared in Laṅkā. Here is merit, here is wisdom, 243
here is pious devotion[2] to the Tathāgata, here is fame and
glory and exceeding great sublimity." Proclaiming these and 244
other words of highest wonderment they filled all regions of
the heavens with loud songs of praise. While thus the Monarch 245
accomplished such a series of wondrous things as had never
been seen or heard of before, he celebrated the high festival 246
in a manner befitting his majesty, and after the wise (prince)
had had the two relics brought into the temple of the Tooth
Relic, the hero who was a single light for the whole world, 247
celebrated for seven nights long a festival of lamps.

Thus did the King Parakkamabāhu before whom monarchs 248
did obeisance, institute in pious fashion for the glorious relics
a great festival that like none other called forth joy, rejoicing,
wonder and admiration from all people who beheld it.

Here ends the seventy-fourth chapter, called "Account of the Festival of the Tooth Relic", in the Mahāvaṃsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

[1] *Hutvāna purato sayaṃ* must be joined "placing itself at the head". The acc. *dharā-parāga-mattaṃ* is governed by *pasamaṃ nayaṃ* (pres. part. of *neti*) lit.: bringing to rest, stilling.

[2] Notice here the expression *bhatti* = skr. *bhakti* i. e. love, surrender in faith. The *bhaktimārga* as path to salvation comes in Hinduism as third after *karmamārga*, practice of the ritual, and after *jñānamārga* philosophic knowledge. The use of *bhatti* in this passage shows plainly the influence of Hindu ideas on Buddhism. What Viṣṇu is to Hinduism that Buddha is here — the object of *bhakti* (see H. Jacobi, Die Entwicklung der Gottesidee bei den Indern, p. 28). The word *bhatti* occurs again in the same sense in 85. 33 and 121 and in 93. 9, 10 in *Sivabhatti* which is contrasted with the Buddhist faith.

CHAPTER LXXV

THE CONQUEST OF ROHAṆA

1 Now all the dignitaries and leaders set forth with great
2 forces to occupy the district of Dīghavāpimaṇḍala[1]. After
fighting a great battle at the place ...ṇagiyala and utterly
3 destroying the stronghold there wi... xce...he dust gates, and
after fighting further at the place G...of...reath at Chaggāma
4 and at the stronghold Balapāsāṇa[2] a severe action and shattering
the hostile army, they halted at the stronghold named
5 Balapāsāṇa with army and train Thereupon the dignitaries
and leaders set out thence, fought a sharp combat in the
6 district of Mālavatthuka, and while fighting at various places
— at Vadhagāmakapāsāṇa, at the village called Mulutta, at
7 Senaguttagāma, at Bolagāma, at the place Vānaragāma and at
Gallambaṭṭhikagāma great battles in terrible succession, they
marched from all sides against the village of Hintālavanagāma[3].

[1] The narrative starts immediately after 74 180 and continues the description of the operations set on foot by Mañju Cf *sabbe 'maccā padhana ca mahabalapurakkhatā* (74 179 c d) with *sabbe amaccā ca padhana ca mahabbala* (75 1 a b)

[2] Balapasāṇa is already mentioned in 74 178 It must be assumed either that the place had in the meantime been abandoned by Kitti or that vv 2 3 are merely a repetition of 74 176 ff Codrington identifies Chaggāma with the modern Sakamam, situated near the east coast at Tirrukovil

[3] It is, I believe, impossible to determine the places named in vv 5, 6. But evidently the troops march in broad alignment throught the district of Dīghavāpi in a concentric direction — hence *samantato* — to Hintalavanagama This must be looked for according to 74 162 near Khira gāma, thus somewhat north of Buttala In this region the troops of Kitti and Bhūta were probably standing Thus there is evidently a plan for uniting the whole army and striking a decisive blow in the neighbourhood of Guttasala and Mahagama

With the hostile army that stood here after it had erected 8
on a space of three gāvutas[1], a strong fortification with many
entrenchments, they fought a great battle, slew numbers of 9
soldiers and took up a position on the spot, spreading fear
amongst the foe. But now the rebels all set off for Dīgha- 10
vāpimaṇḍala with the intention of (re-)taking the (already)
captured province[2]. When the dignitaries in Hintālavanagāma 11
received exact tidings of this undertaking they sent off many
soldiers. These covered in two nights a tract of ground of 12
twenty gāvutas[3], fought a great battle, cut down the foe and 13
so terrified them that they gave up trying to renew the con-
test. Then they returned victorious to their place[4]. Hereupon 14
all the dignitaries near this village having fought with the
foe — who after throwing up an entrenchment at the place 15
named Ādipādapunnāgakhaṇḍa were standing in the district
of Guttasālā — a great battle and after likewise fighting at
Corambagāma, further at the village of Mūlānagāma and at 16
Kuddālamaṇḍala a severe action, set forth from the place called 17
Hintālagāma. They fought an action at Kittirājavālukagāma,
further a terrible battle at the place called Uladā, at the 18
village named Vāluka and after fighting an action at Huyala-
gāma, they halted, slaying many enemies[5].

[1] Over six miles. See note on 73. 154.

[2] Thus the revolt breaks out again in the rear and the flank of the army. The pacification of the Dīghavāpi district had not been successful.

[3] More then 40 miles.

[4] I. e. to the headquarters at Hintālagāma.

[5] One must not be misled by the accounts of the success of single actions. It is clearly the case here of guerilla warfare. In open fight the rebels offer little resistance. But when the revolt seems to have been suppressed at one place, it at once breaks out anew in another. The accounts of "great battles" (*mahāyuddha*) and the "bitter or severe actions" (*tumula raṇa*) in which the hostile army is shattered and countless soldiers slain, are too much of a formula to lay claim in all their details to historical credence. Every encounter whether important or unimportant, is described very nearly in the same way. The capture of the relics was certainly an important moral success. But the main object of the whole enterprise, as it is alleged in 74. 40 ff. was not

19 Now to make the town Mahānāgahula which had been
inhabited by former kings, a royal capital[1] by the Great King
20 were sent forth the Dandādhikārin Rakkha and Rakkha the
Chief of the chamberlains, and they having equipped a great
21 army, set forth full of lust for battle The Chief of the
chamberlains Rakkha hereupon sent off the Kesadhātu by name
22 Devarāja, who dwelt in Pancayojana, with a great army, and
after destroying numbers of foes there, he being experienced
23 in the art of war, smote the enemy who after throwing up
many entrenchments at the village of Gimhatittha, in order
to make it the royal capital, had taken up their stand there,
so utterly that nought but the tidings of them remained
24 Then to allow the exhausted army to recover from the combats,
the hero tarried a few days on the spot[2]
25 Thereupon the enemy gathered together and driven by
their heavy grief, they took grave counsel (together) as follows
26 "The power of the Ruler of men Parakkama, which is like

achieved Cf below v 149 ff Parakkama s troops were unable to pass the Buttala line The King realises that and develops an entirely new plan of campaign an attack from the north west with Dakkhinadesa as base

[1] A curious expression meaning about the same as to bring into his power For the idea must be that Parakkama now risks a direct advance against the capital of Rohana But perhaps we have to do with an old corruption of the text? Note that the pāda *tato katum rājadhānim* is immediately repeated in 22 c

[2] The military expeditions of the two Rakkhas dealt with in detail by Codrington in his Notes on Ceylon Topography in the Twelfth Century II are quite intelligible as regards their plan and course That of the Kañcukinayaka Rakkha is first spoken of His task was to penetrate from Dakkhinadesa along the south west and the south coast as far as Mahanāgahula situated at the mouth of the Valaveganga (cf note to 58 40) Before he begins the advance he secures his left flank by the expedition which starts from Pañcayojana now Pasdun korale east of Kalutara (cf note to 57 71) The hostilities then begin at Gimhatittha, now Gintota a few miles west of Galle Rakkha had apparently penetrated as far as this place from the frontier of Dakkhinadesa as which we may regard the Kaluganga, without encountering resistance The rebels who were about to fortify Gimhatittha as a residence for Sugalā were evidently completely surprised

to the fire at the destruction of the world, is hard to subdue even by the kings in the whole of Jambudīpa. Even the Lord 27
of men Gajabāhu and the Ruler Mānābharaṇa, these two lion-like kings, skilled in war, who prepared a great army and 28
spent much money, though they fought day and night in divers ways, when they heard the sound of his drum of triumph 29
were scattered afar. They became as glowworms at the rising of the sun, and since tortured by fear, they were not even 30
able to stay in their own country, they seeing no other way of escape, sought refuge with (the god of the dead) King Yama.
Save the wilderness, there is for us no other protection. In 31
every way our land is furnished with mountain wildernesses and the like. Therefore let us at all inaccessible places throw 32
up many entrenchments, make all the well-known highways impassable, lay down many robbers' paths, and when then our 33
land has been made impassable let us gather ourselves together and open battle." Herewith the rebels being all of one 34
accord, marched to the mouth of the Gālu river[1] full of the lust of battle. When the Chief of the chamberlains 35
heard thereof, he marched thither, fought a great battle with them and put them to flight. The army which had been 36
shattered in the battle joined from all sides with the foe who had his position at Mahāvālukagāma[2]. The Chief of the 37
chamberlains Rakkha gave his army time to breathe; then he marched farther in order to fight the foe at Mahāvālukagāma.
He shattered all the enemy and made the battlefield (bloody) 38
as the world of the Nāgas[3] when afflicted by the Garuḷas[3].

[1] W. is probably right in identifying the Gālunadī with the Ginganga at whose mouth at Gintota the troops of Rakkha had according to v. 24 halted. Gālu can scarcely have anything to do with the name of the town of Galle. It is a question, whether we should not keep to the MSS. reading of *gālurajjumukhadvāraṃ*.

[2] Now Veligama halfway between Galle and Dondra. It appears that the main body of the hostile army had its position at this place. When its vanguard had been beaten by Rakkha near the mouth of the Gālu river the whole army concentrated at Veligama.

[3] P. *garuḷa* is the skr. *garuḍa*. This in the singular is in the first place the name of a mythical griffin-like bird which is regarded as Viṣṇu's

39 He drove them thence as a panther many gazelles and the
40 victory gained, halted there himself with large forces. Then
the Chief of the chamberlains who was himself versed in the
consideration of advantage and disadvantage, while he sojourned
41 in Vālukagāma, reflected thus: "These foes perish of a truth
in great numbers, like moths who know not the danger of
42 the fire and are burnt therein. But when they have perished
the land will become like to a wilderness. And they know
43 not the great-heartedness of our King. From now onwards
we must grant the foes who surrender, freedom from punish-
44 ment and give them protection". Hereupon he sent to some
of the inhabitants of the province the message: "All those who
45 would preserve their lives, let them come to me." Now when
the merchants who dwelt in the port of Vālukagāma[1] to whom
46 their life and their money were dear, heard that, they came
in great numbers and (with them) other of the inhabitants
from all sides to the Chief of the chamberlains Rakkha and
47 presented themselves to him, tortured with fear. Hereupon
he sent his soldiers forth and made them several times fight
an action with the foe at different places such as Devanagara
48 and at Kammāragāma, at Mahāpanālagāma and at the village
of Mānakapiṭṭhi, at the ford called Nīlavāla and at the village
49 named Kadalīpatta[2] He remained victor at all these places
50 and received graciously all who came to him. Now all the

steed. At the Pāli stage the word in the plural serves as designation of a whole group of such birds. They are the deadly enemies of the serpent spirits called Nāgas See note to 41. 60

[1] It is interesting to learn that Veligama was at that time (12th c) a not unimportant trading centre, thanks probably to the spacious and sheltered bay on which it lies

[2] The progress of the Kañcukināyaka along the coast is easy to follow Devanagara is the modern Devundara (Dondra) at the southern point of the island Kammāragāma the village Kamburugamuva halfway between Veligama and Matara which last we recognise in Nīlavālatittha, since it lies near the mouth of the Nilvalaganga The name Matara means "great ford". The remaining names can no longer be identified What is striking is the sequence of the narrative, since Devanagara could only be occupied after the capture of Kammāragāma and Nīlavālatittha.

rebels made the resolve: "We shall not permit the all too 51
mighty army of the foe after crossing the river at the place
Mahākhetta, to fight (with us)". They set forth and them-
selves full of fury, reached the bank of the river. When the 52
Chief of the chamberlains heard of this event he sent forth
his army to march thither to fight with the foe. Thereupon 53
the best soldiers of the two parties fought a severe action in
the middle of the river. Now raged between the two armies 54
a terrible battle like to that of the gods with the Dānavas[1]
who rose from the ocean. While now the great warriors 55
stood in battle with the hostile army, they reflected thus:
"An indecisive battle with these people is the same as a defeat. 56
If not to speak of our Lord, the Chief of the chamberlains
hears such tidings, that means a great humiliation. Let us 57
therefore break in pieces the foe like small sugar canes, fling 58
them into the water of the river and make them food for the
fish and the turtle, otherwise it is we who shall still their
hunger." They fought an exceeding terrible battle like the 59
monkeys who leapt over the ocean[2] in the combat between
Rāma and Rāvaṇa. They caused the swift river to flow with 60
flesh and blood and set forth with strong forces to take Dīghāli[3].
The warriors marched thither and rooted out the host of their 61
foes as elephants a banana grove into which they have broken.

[1] The Dānavas are demon-like creatures, asuras, enemies of the Devas. This passage refers to the fight described in the Mahābhārata 1. 5. 19, in which the gods after getting hold of the amṛta conquer the demons who then withdraw below the ground and into the sea. Cf. HOPKINS, Epic Mythology, p 48; H. JACOBI, Mahābhārata, p. 5.

[2] Refers to the battle described in the Rāmāyaṇa VI. 24.

[3] It is not easy to establish the locality of these battles. It is clear that Mahākhetta (v.50) and Dīghāli must be situated close together. CODRINGTON looks for them (cf. note to 72. 63) on the Nilvalaganga north of Matara. But since Rakkha has already taken Devanagara, he must stand on the left bank of this river. We must thus assume that the rebels were trying to turn Rakkha's left flank and that he was therefore forced to give up the advance eastwards and to make a change of front northwards. The identification of Dīghāli with Dikvella is difficult to maintain, since the river is absent upon and at which the fights described must have taken place.

62 There shattered, the enemy gathered together again at the
place called Suvaṇṇamalaya[1] and began the combat anew.
63 Then the Chief of the chamberlains also sent thither numbers
of soldiers. There hailed down an uninterrupted rain of arrows
64 and after ascertaining through spies a passage leading through
the forest, they penetrated the path pointed out by them,
65 slew many soldiers who had sought shelter in the various
entrenchments and cleansed Suvaṇṇamalaya also from the briers
66 (of the rebels). Hereupon the Chief of the chamberlains who
was himself on the way to Mālāvaratthali, sent to the soldiers
67 who had marched to Suvaṇṇamalaya the (following) message:
"I am on the march to the village of Mālāvaratthalī; set ye
68 forth also on the way thither." When the people heard that,
they did so, and he took them all with him and betook himself to Mālāvaratthali[2].
69 The war-skilled Damiḷādhikārin Rakkha by name, betook
70 himself at the head of a strong force to Doṇivagga[3]. When

[1] Codrington says: "Suvaṇṇamalaya is Ranmalekanda situated northwest of Kirama, or the range which includes this hill and divides West Giruva Pattu from Matara district" Kirama lies NNE. from Matara about 20 miles distant.

[2] It is clear from the passage that the march to Suvaṇṇamalaya was only the lateral expedition of a division detached from the main army. I do not believe therefore that Mālāvaratthalī should be looked for as in the line of march after Suvaṇṇamalaya. It lay rather on that followed by the Kañcukināyaka in his advance. As this was directed towards Mahānāgahula, thus in the direction of the lower course of the Valaveganga (see note to 68. 39), I should look for Mālāvaratthali farther south, somewhere between Viraketiya and Tangalla.

[3] We may assume that the narrative here goes back somewhat in time and that the advance of the second Rakkha in Doṇivagga took place simultaneously with that of the first Rakkha in Gimhatittha or very soon after Parakkamabāhu's plan of campaign was evidently to advance from two sides against Mahānāgahula, the capital of Rohaṇa, from the west and the north west. Doṇivagga is the depression at Pelmadulla-Opanake, about twelve miles east of Ratnapura. The name is preserved in that of the small river Denavaka which flows through the depression. As there is considerable rice cultivation in this region it is particularly suited for the gathering of an army.

the numerous rebels heard tidings thereof, they gave true
tidings of the situation to the Laṅkāpura Rakkha who was 71
in the town called Mahānāgahula and sent an urgent message
to come hither immediately. They thought: the road leading 72
from Doṇivagga to Navayojana is very difficult, therefore let
us hinder the (direct) passage into our province from there 73
at the difficult places[1], and with great fury they set about
beginning hostilities. The war-skilled Damiḷādhikārin Rakkha 74
wished now before the beginning of the war on the part of
the enemy, to strike a decisive blow[2] and in his lust for 75
fighting, sent off many soldiers and the Kesadhātu Loka and
the Saṅkhanāyaka Nātha by name and other officers. These 76
fought a great battle and won a great victory. The shattered 77
foe flung into confusion by great terrors, gathered again at
the place Guralaṭṭhakalañcha. Now the Damiḷādhikārin Rakkha 78
again sent forth his great army to take away this place also[3].

[1] The passage offers difficulties. What is now called Navadun Korale (= Navayojana; cf. note to 72. 60) is mainly the region of Pelmadulla. Formerly however, Navayojana, as CODRINGTON points out, seems to have been of greater extent. I am inclined to think that it embraced in mediaeval-times the whole region east and south-east of Pasdun Korale, i.e. Kukul Korale, Hinidum Pattu, Moravak Korale. It was in this territory that the combats described in 72. 60—64 took place. Kālagiribhaṇḍa also mentioned there is probably only a part of Navayojana. The purport of our passage seems to me to be this: the rebels have no fear of being threatened from the west, from Navayojana, as in that case Rakkha would first have to cross the Rakvana mountains. He will, they thought, avoid this difficult line of march, but is more likely to advance along the direct road (*raṭṭhapavesana*). This would be more or less the road leading now from Madampe south-eastward to Ambalantota at the mouth of the Valaveganga. It was here at the places fit for resistance that the rebels believed the defence should be organised. We shall see in the sequel that Rakkha later on nevertheless risked the march over the mountains.

[2] P. *mukhabhaṅga,* see note to 63. 30.

[3] The name Guralaṭṭhakalañcha suggests the Atakalan Korale. With this is designated the name of the district in which Madampe lies. It is quite intelligible that Rakkha wishes to gain a footing here, in order to secure for himself access to the road leading to Mahānāgahula. The Col. Ed. reads *Garulaṭṭhakalañcha* as against the MSS. It is a risky thing however, to change names just in order to get a particular meaning.

79 The brave warriors arose, broke through many entrenchments,
even broke through the main fortifications which were provid-
80 ed with numerous gates and reached the place which the foe
was occupying. They took whom they could alive, sent many
81 other foes straight into the jaws of death, put to flight the
others who found no further support, and cleansed this place
82 also from the briers (of the foe). Then they returned (to
Rakkha), and he showed them befitting favours.
83 Now in order to protect the enemy whom the king's
majesty had turned to ashes, by the application of kindness,
84 even as a cloud (shelters) the forest set on fire by the glow
of the summer sun, the prudent Damiḷādhikārin returned to
85 Doṇivagga[1]. He appointed to every district that he had
captured, the appropriate people, took those who had sub-
mitted to his dominion[2] under his dominion and purged this
86 district also[3]. The enemy who after throwing up entrench-
ments, had taken up their position at Pūgadaṇḍakaāvāṭa[4],
87 renewed the fight with strong forces. The Damiḷādhikārin,
well skilled in the game of war, thereupon sent thither also
88 many soldiers with their officers The brave warriors went
forth and with the rain of arrows which they let rain[5], with
89 the rattle of the drums and the clash of swords they were
like to the flashing march of a storm cloud that appears out

[1] The fact that Rakkha returns to Doṇivagga and that now like his namesake, (75 41 ff) he seeks to win over the rebels by kindness shows that he has not achieved his object. The breach planned along the main road to Mahānāgahula has not succeeded, the advance has been checked at a certain place

[2] I should expect *vase yante* rather than *vase honte* (cf. 77. 10 and note).

[3] Probably Doṇivagga. It is to be assumed that the revolt broke out also in Rakkha's rear

[4] The place cannot be identified with certainty If what is meant is the place Dandava lying between Kahavatta and Opanake, the rebels had advanced very near to Rakkha's base. Later on Pūgadaṇḍāvāṭa becomes Rakkha's headquarters (cf 75. 143).

[5] P. *vassitā* is instr. sg. for *vassitena*, in the same way *vitatānaṃ* stands in 4 for *vitatānena*.

of season. Through delight in their own heroism[1] chasing
away the weariness of combat, they celebrated the goddess 90
of heroes with their drums of victory. When they thereupon
heard that numbers of the foe had built a stronghold at the 91
place called Tambagāma and had taken their stand there, the
heroes of tried valour were minded to show that nothing but
heroic action pleased them, marched by night thither and invaded 92
(the place), through the sound of their war drums challenging
the foe to fight. But when the rebels heard the clatter of the 93
drums they thought a thunderbolt had fallen on their heads
and in the greatest panic some fled while others perished. 94
But those (victors) burned down the fortification so that nought
but ashes remained and returned with strong forces to Pū- 95
gadaṇḍāvāṭa[2]. The Damiḷādhikārin Rakkha called back his
own troops and sent forth to subdue the enemy who lurked 96
here and there in their district, the four-membered army with
its officers. This army cut down at Bodhiāvāṭa, at Bhinnāla- 97
vanagāma[3] and at Atarandāmahābodhikkhandha numbers of
the enemy, fought also a night action and returned thence.

Now the Damiḷadhikārin marched at the head of strong 98
forces to the place called Sūkarālibheripāsāṇa[4]. Without 99

[1] P. *vīrarasa-assādā*. Again an allusion to the Indian rasa doctrine. See note to 72. 94.

[2] Again it is the case of a direct attack on Mahānāgahula, but which again did not lead to a break through. Tambagāma is without doubt the village of Tambagomuva lying about 8 miles ESE. of Madampe near the road leading to Ambalantota from which it is separated by the Rakvanaganga. The village gives its name to the district Tambagam Pattuva. (Census Ceylon, 1921, II, p. 490.)

[3] The Col. Ed. reads here *Hintālavanagāmake*. In the writing this form is hardly distinguishable from the form which I have adopted. In any case this Hintālavanagāma could have nothing to do with the place of that name mentioned 74. 162; 75. 7, 11, 17, which was situated at Khīragāma not far from Buttala.

[4] In this name are combined two neighbouring places, Sūkarāli and Bheripāsāṇa. The first is the present Urubokka, the second Beralapanatara. We owe these identifications to Codrington. I had them also from the principal of the Dharmasalava in Ratnapura, Urapola Ratanajoti, with whom I discussed the passages of the Mhvs. in ques-

disregarding in any way the orders of the Ruler of men (Parakkamabāhu) he restored the people who without being
100 hostile, had hidden themselves here and there, to their district as before. And after he had placed the proper officials in the
101 district (thus) won, he set forth at the head of a fearsome, strong army and reached the village named Sīmātālatthali[1].
102 Now the many rebels lurking in various places[2], summoned
103 *hither the army of the inhabitants of the country.* *Thus in* possession of large forces, they then also summoned the Lankāpura Rakkha whom they had themselves made commander-in-chief and who at the head of many hundreds of warriors
104 filled the world with the sound of his drums and kettledrums,

tion The two places are only about two miles distant from one another in the Moravak Korale south of Pelmadulla Madampe on the other side of the Rakvana mountain range I believe Rakkha's tactics were somewhat like this The general has realised that a break through along the highway (now Madampe Tambagomuva-Ambalantota) is impossible. He tries it now with an outflanking manoeuvre With this object he crosses the mountain range to the south of Rakvana in order to attack the enemy from Moravak Korale (= Navayojana) that is just from the side where the rebels thought themselves safeguarded by the difficulty of the ground (see note to v 73) The passage was without doubt the Bulutota pass which forms a natural saddle between the Galkanda and the Kurulukanda. It seems to me not improbable that it was already used in mediaeval times After the crossing of the Bulutota pass Rakkha had however another parallel chain to traverse. It may be assummed that for this he made use of the deepest depression at Batkanda over which in the future the road will run which is to meet the Bulotota road from the south (Deniyaya). It is here that the footpath now runs which joins Rakvana with Deniyaya. Codrington's comparison of the Mahābodhikkhanda mentioned in v. 97, with Batkanda has now greater significance It must be assumed that the expedition described in v 96-97 had the character of a reconnaissance

[1] [illegible] told me of a village Hintalgoda in Moravak Korale but I cannot find the name either in the list of place names in the Census (vol. II) or on the map.

[2] Evidently as sentries on the look out. Verses 102 and 103 show what surprise and terror the appearance of Rakkha in Moravak Korale caused among the rebels. First the militia are called out to help and then the commander in chief himself who according to v. 70, was at that time in Mahānāgahula.

and so advanced to Nadībhaṇḍagāma[1]. When the Damiḷādhi- 105
kārin heard of this undertaking, the prudent one summoned
his soldiers and held with them the following speech: "Here 106
shall ye now show your devotion to your Lord (the king)
and I shall be witness to your heroism. Think not: this is 107
bad ground, the foe are very dauntless, but believe without
doubting in the winning of the victory on the battlefield 108
through the majesty of our Lord and Master. But go first
and occupy the right place for the battle." Thereupon these 109
set forth with great determination and occupied full of daring,
a position near Mahāsenagāma[2] in order to fight. Now the 110
warriors on both sides flung themselves on to the battlefield.
With the sparks born of their arms as they beat against each
other, starring the whole firmament as it were by day, and 111
with the outpouring of their rain of arrows filling all regions
of the heavens, they began the battle, letting their battle-cry
sound forth. But the Damiḷādhikārin, the mighty one, won 112
the head of the Laṅkāpura Rakkha together with his heroism.
Then did the rebels melt away irretrievably as the tide of 113
the waters of the ocean when it has passed its shores[3]. The 114
battlefield there was full of crows, vultures and the like, but
the Damiḷādhikārin who had won the victory by combat held 115
high festival and surrounded by the divisions of his army,
he the highly-famed took possession of the town of Mahānā-
gāhula[4].

Now the Chief of the chamberlains Rakkha marched forth 116
from Mālāvaratthalī[5] and betook himself in haste to the town

[1] Codrington has recognised this in the present Obada (Sinh. *ō, oya* is always rendered by *nadī*). As Obada lies below Urubokka, about nine miles distant as the crow flies, on the river of that name in West Giruva, it proves that Rakkha in his advance followed the valley of the Urubokka-oya.

[2] We may assume that the place where the decisive battle took place was not far from Obada.

[3] The rebels dispersed as the surf of the sea disperses on the shore.

[4] In this section the MSS. give the name as *Mahānāgakula*, otherwise *-hula* or *-sula*.

[5] See above v. 68.

117 Mahānāgahula. He sought out the Damiḷādhikārin and the latter discerning and aware of the favorable as of the un-
118 favorable occasion, took counsel with him as follows: "In accordance with the commands of our Lord we have taken the town of Mahānāgahula, yet still there are many foes left
119 alive. These robbed of all resources, have withdrawn to Khaṇḍavagga. But that our soldiers just after they have
120 gained the victory, should march in haste thither pleaseth me not. Where our Lord sets his foot there is our refuge." For
121 that reason they remained on the spot[1], and while they let the people who without being enemies had hidden themselves here and there, come to them and appointed each to his own district again, they spent the time even there in the town of
122 Mahānāgahula. But the many rebels who had betaken themselves to Khaṇḍavagga, stirred up the inhabitants of the
123 district with the wish to renew the war. They gathered themselves all together at the place called Khaṇḍavagga. The
124 Damiḷādhikārin thought that now was the right time for the contest, he advanced from the town of Mahānāgahula and began
125 a fearful battle in Bakagalla[2]-Uddhavāpi. The skilful (general) beat them all and then returned. Several of the enemy came
126 hereupon to Saṃghabhedakagāma; but the general Sūkarabhātudeva took his soldiers and came thirsting for the fight to

[1] The word *ettha* here is curious, especially in conjunction with *tattha' eva* in 121 c. The final words of Rakkha's speech are also obscure. Possibly we have to do with a corruption of the text. I believe that the words *tasmā ettha nisīdiya* belonged originally to the oratio recta and that after that something with which the speech ended and which made the foregoing sentence more intelligible has been lost.

[2] Codrington successfully identifies Bakagalla with the present Koggala (sinh. *koka* "crane" is rendered by p. *baka* which has the same meaning) which is situated only 5 miles North of Ambalantota, that is about the same distance NE. of the ancient Mahānāgahula. This proves the fact that even the capture of the capital does not discourage the rebels. They withdraw just so far as to place the Velavegaṅga between themselves and the enemy and renew hostilities. The actions which follow (vv. 125—140) are only so many attempts on Mahānāgahula. Though in single skirmishes Parakkama's troops are victorious, no lasting success is achieved.

Mahāgāma[1]. Now the Damiḷādhikārin himself called his soldiers 127
together and sent them first to Saṃghabhedakagāma. The 128
brave heroes betook themselves now to the battlefield and after
they had in the fire of the majesty of the illustrious Ruler
of men destroyed numbers of the foe, they returned to the 129
town of Mahānāgahula and held there in fitting manner high
festival. But in order also to get the general (Sūkarabhātu) 130
into his power, the Damiḷādhikārin sent off the Laṅkāpura
Deva and many other soldiers to fight against him. They 131
betook themselves to the battlefield and with arrows sent un-
ceasingly covering the whole heaven and raising their thunder- 132
ing[2] battle-cry they dashed forward to the battlefield, slew the
general and shattered the foe. Then these brave warriors 133
too came to Mahāgāma[3] with the sound of their victorious
drums making joyful the Damiḷādhikārin. Thereupon an elder 134
brother of the Laṅkāpura Rakkha who had seized the leader-
ship of the army, gathered together the many foes whom 135
death had spared and marched for a combat such a rebels
fight[4], to the town of Mahānāgahula[5]. The Damiḷādhikārin 136
now also sent soldiers thither, they shattered him after slay-
ing many of the enemy. The shattered soldiers came to a 137
place called Kuravakagalla. The Damiḷādhikārin Rakkha march-
ed from the town Mahānāgahula, shattered them all and re- 138
turned. Now there came together from all sides to Mahāgāma
the Lokagalla Vikkama by name and many other foes in order 139
to fight with the Mūlapotthakin Māna. But in this fight 140

[1] For Sūkarabhātudeva see 74. 127ff. Where Saṃghabhedagāma lies is uncertain. Mahāgāma is doubtless Magama in the territory of Tissamahārāma.

[2] P. *gajjantā*. The comparison which it is impossible for us to render sufficiently exactly, is borrowed from the storm. The mass of the arrows are the cloud darkening the heavens, the battle-cry is the thunder.

[3] One expects here Mahānāgahula instead of Mahāgāma and on the other hand in v. 135 instead of Mahānāgahula rather Mahāgāma. Have we not to do here with a mistake of the compiler's?

[4] P. *corayuddhāya*, corresponding more or less to our guerilla warfare.

[5] Cf. above note to v. 133.

along with the life of the foe the Mūlapotthakin Māna by name speedily won the victory.

141 Now the Damiḷādhikārin took counsel with the dignitaries: "When we see the destruction of the foe in every single fight
142 and the panic of those fleeing hither and thither, then we think the enemy has lost the courage for renewing the war and yet one does not perceive that they are wholly rooted
143 out. Let us give up the middle of the province and when here and there hidden (rebels) have come into the middle of the province, defeat them[1]." With that the prudent one, the
144 highly-famed returned to Pūgadaṇḍāvāṭa. But the rebels who had not seen through his plan, streamed together from everywhere out of the wilderness into the middle of the province.
145 When the Damiḷādhikārin received true tidings of these events, he started thence at the head of his men, fought with the
146 numbers of foes at the village of Bodhiāvāṭaka, as well as with the foe everywhere else — at the place called Sūkarālibheri-
147 pāsāṇa and at the stronghold called Madhutthala — great battles
148 and robbed them of their life. Then he penetrated to the middle of the province, sent his army also thither in various
149 directions and rooted them out all and sundry. Hereupon he received a message which came to him from the leaders stand-

[1] In consideration of the sequel I should assume that *cajitvāna* is subordinate to the principal verb *hanissāma* rather than to the part. *nilīnesu*. Rakkha's plan is clear and proves successful. By *raṭṭhamajjha* is meant the agricultural country on the right bank of the Valavegaṅgā with Mahānāgahula. That is it is true, in his power, but the rebels have withdrawn into the inaccessible wilderness surrounding it on all sides. In order now to entice them into the open country where he hopes to defeat them decisively, he ostensibly abandons the captured territory and withdraws to his original base near Doṇivagga. For it is here we must look for *Pūgadaṇḍāvāṭa* (cf. above v. 66. 93). This explains also why in the following combats with the rebels who are in fact taken in by Rakkha's manoeuvre, the former names Bodhiāvāṭa (v. 97) and Sūkarālibheripāsāṇa (v. 93) recur. The Madhutthala named along with them must also be situated near Sūkarāli — Urubokka. All these places are situated on the border of the *raṭṭhamajjha* into which he finally penetrates to annihilate the enemy.

ing in Huyalagāma and marched to Kumbugāma[1]. Thereupon 150
the general stationed in Huyalagāma by name Mañju, and
the two generals called Kitti and Bhūta came surrounded by 151
numbers of heroic officers, to the same place, holding high
festival of joy. The general by name Mañju[2], hereupon, 152
showing honour to the Damiḷādhikārin Rakkha, spake the
following words: "So long as the many foes which have 153
broken away from your country and are hidden in the various
inaccessible places have not got a footing, let us slay them 154
all, while the enemy who has sought refuge in the wilderness
of Aṭṭhasahassaka and the Queen Sugalā we will take captive[3]. 155
But if the many foes who sojourn in the wilderness are hard
for you to overcome, we shall send off soldiers." The Damiḷādhi- 156
kārin agreed with these words. He advanced in haste with
his army into the region of the Vananadī[4] and son came near 157
to the foe who in order to reach the mountain wilderness,
had speedily betaken themselves to Mālāvaratthalī. When they 158
heard that Rakkha was on the march[5], they withdrew, tor-

[1] We have seen above in v. 19 that the generals Mañju, Kitti and Bhūta after vain attempts to reach Mahāgāma by Guttasālā, halt at Huyalagāma. Now they try to get into touch with Rakkha. As Huyalagāma cannot have lain far from Buttala, we may look for Kumbugāma somewhere on the road leading along the southern base of the mountains. [2] Cf. note to 74. 129.

[3] Aṭṭhasahassaka (cf. note to 61. 24) is the territory east of the Valaveganga. Thus Mañju and his generals undertake the operations in eastern Rohaṇa, Rakkha those in the western part of the province.

[4] There is scarcely a doubt that with Vananadī is meant the Valaveganga. The ger. *pavessa* must be = *pavissa*. A causative form is impossible since the object belonging to it is wanting. *Saha senayā* agrees only with a *pavisati*. But perhaps we might render *vananadī-passaṃ pavessa* by: "he advanced along the V." That would make excellent sense. The rebels have evidently occupied Mahānāgahula after Rakkha's withdrawal. In order now to cut them off from communication with eastern Rohaṇa, Rakkha marches from Kumbugāma down the Vananadī. His plan succeeds. The rebels turn westward by way of Mālāvaratthalī (see note to v. 66) to the mountains of Dvādasasahassaka, the present district of Giruva (note to 61. 22).

[5] That is in further pursuit of them.

tured by fear, into the great forest and sought refuge on the
159 Mahāpabbata. The Damiḷādhikārin surrounded the mountain,
fought a great battle with them and utterly destroyed them
160 Then after occupying Dvadasasahassaka thus set free from the
briers (of the rebels), he considered what should be done with
161 the many foes taken alive and had many hundreds of the
162 enemy impaled in villages and market-towns Likewise round
about the village of Mahānāgahula the mighty one had num-
163 bers of the foe impaled, several too hanged on the gallows
and burnt to ashes and after taking up his abode in the vil-
164 lage of Mahānāgahula, he had under a favorable constellation
the drums of government of the illustrious Ruler of men
165 beaten in villages and market-towns After sending a messenger
announcing these events to the Ruler of men and receiving
166 from the Great King a mark of honour, he took up his abode,
the discerning, the highly-famed (general), in that same Dva-
dasasahassaka, pondering over the needful measures
167 All the chief dignitaries[1] in Kumbugāma reflected (thus)
168 From the time that we set forth to war in Rohana the sol-
diers sent forth by us have here and there in great battles
169 covered the earth with the bones of the foe, and even all the
brave warriors who dwell in Jambudipa would not be able to
170 withstand these soldiers Why then should we henceforward
think to carry on war with the foe hidden here and there
171 through fear? Queen Sugalā is the cause of these people
172 becoming rebels and has led them into the wilderness[2] There-
fore we must get the Queen alive into our power" With such
resolve the discerning (generals) marched from Kumbugāma
173 and came to Hatthikucchi. After they had there in various
places posted good soldiers, known as courageous people, in
174 the necessary numbers, they advanced thence fully armed to
Kapharaṭṭa and when at the place called Vanagāma, they

[1] The narrative now deals with the operations in eastern Rohana which we may imagine as taking place simultaneously with the events related in vv 156—166.

[2] Owing to the presence of the object the past participle must be taken in a causative sense (see Cūḷav. ed. I Introduction p. XIII

caught sight of the hostile army with whom was the Queen, 175
they fought there a great (and) fearful battle. With the sound
of their drums of victory cleaving open, as it were, the earth,
they seized the Queen and all her treasures of many a kind[1]. 176
Having appointed for the guarding of the treasure the necessary
chamberlains, they brought the war game begun there to an 177
end and after covering the earth with the hands and feet and
heads of the foe and taking those alive to whom this had to 178
happen, they made the province of Rohaṇa everywhere free
from the briers (of the rebels).

Now by some kind of wile, taking with them a few sol- 179
diers, the three Phālakālas who were near the end of their
life, and the two Laṅkāpuras by name Taddhigāma and Pabbata, 180
had escaped out of the hand of the foe[2] and were in flight
tortured by fear. But the two brothers, the generals[3] and 181
the Laṅkāpura known by the name of Kaḍakkuḍa, as well as
many other officers with their soldiers, having reached Ud- 182
dhanadvāragāma[4], shattered them in a great battle and then
reached Nigrodhamāragalla[5]. Hereupon the great dignitaries 183
with their officers pursued the enemy, sent the head of the
Phālakāla to the highest dignitaries[6], captured the Laṅkāpura 184

[1] The place where the capture of Sugalā took place is not yet determined. The name Valgama or Valagama to which the P. *Vanagāma* would correspond, occurs frequently in Ceylon. A Valagama is situated in the Bintenna Pattu. It is however very doubtful if this can be the one meant.

[2] The enemies from whom Phālakāla and the others had escaped were of course the troops of Parakkamabāhu.

[3] For the *dve bhātaro daṇḍanāthā* see note to 70. 279. They are mentioned here for the last time.

[4] See note to 61. 16. Uddhanadvāragāma was the capital of eastern Rohaṇa (Aṭṭhasahassaka).

[5] Verses 179—182 form one sentence. The subjects are in v. 181. The principal verb is *upāgamuṃ* to which the gerunds *samāgantvā*, *pabhinditvāna* are subordinate. The accusatives in v. 180 are governed by *pabhinditvāna* as objects. As attribute they have the pres. part. *palāyante* to which *mucchitvā* and *gahetvāna* are again subordinate.

[6] That is Mañju together with Bhūta and Kitti who had not personally taken part in the pursuit of the Phālakālas.

Pabbata by name, alive and destroyed the foe so utterly that nought but the tidings of them remained[1].

185 Thereupon the clever Adhikārin Manju[2] made the following proposal: "From the time when we began to conquer this
186 Rohaṇa we have never — apart from[3] the boundless terror-inspiring destruction of our enemies in battle through the
187 majesty of our Lord — treated the foe with sternness so as to teach the people what evil results treason to the king brings
188 about. Therefore those deserving of harshness let us treat harshly and let us be ever kind to those who deserve kindness,
189 and in this way in accord with the commands of our Lord and Master, win them over to ourselves." All agreed with
190 zeal to his proposal. They caused many foes to whom severity was due, to be brought before them, and at villages and market-
191 towns they had numbers of stakes set up on which they impaled many hundreds of the enemy. Many other foes they
192 had hanged on the gallows and burnt and showed forth in every way the majesty — hard to subdue, scarcely to be surpassed, arousing astonishment — of the Ruler of men Pa-
193 rakkamabāhu Then while they showed due grace to those who were accessible to kindness and were worthy of being treated with kindness, they brought peace to the province, as clouds in the rainy season to a forest burnt by fire.

194 When the Ruler of men Parakkama heard tidings of these events he sent an exceeding gracious message of the following
195 content. "In the first place send hither all the dignitaries
196 taken alive and the Queen Sugalā. The burden of the whole administration there is to be given over to the Adhikārin Bhūta Then along with the whole of the four-membered army
197 sent forth from here, preceded by the numerous bhikkhu community dwelling there, after leaving the necessary garrison
198 in the various districts, under a constellation regarded as fa-

[1] I prefer to join the two pādas karimsu as far as *nippattale* with v. 184 instead of with v. 185. Sabbaso is to be taken in an adverbial sense as emphasising sabbattha.

[2] See note to 74. 120

[3] I take the ger. hitvā in this sense in this passage

vorable, the whole of the dignitaries shall assemble and present themselves before me."

The dignitaries all carried out his orders without omitting 199
anything. They marched from Rohaṇa and reached at the 200
head of their large army, Pulatthinagara. Accompanied by
the dwellers in Pulatthinagara, who played music, shouted
with joy, clapped their hands in applause, waved cloths a 201
thousandfold again and again and let their cries of victory
resound – they drew near to the superb royal palace and cleans- 202
ed their heads with the blossom dust of the foot-lotus of the 203
illustrious King of kings enthroned (there) in splendour.

Thus had this Ruler of men, pursuing the path of politi- 204
cal wisdom and of virtue, with exceeding terrible majesty[1],
more powerful than a forest conflagration, of keen understand-
ing, together with his heroes made Rohaṇa free from the
briers of the foe.

Here ends the seventy-fifth chapter, called «The Conquest of Rohaṇa», in the Mahāvaṃsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

[1] The word that I here translate by "majesty" is the P. *tejo*. As this has the original meaning of "glow", the comparison with the forest conflagration has also a linguistic connection. The compound must be separated thus: *dava-dahana-uggatara-atibhīma-tejo.*

Chapter LXXVI

ACCOUNT OF THE CAPTURE OF THE TOWN OF RĀJINĀ

1 While now the Monarch gifted with insight, day and night
strove unweariedly for the furtherance of the laity and of the
2 Order, there banded together in the eighth year of the reign
of the illustrious Ruler of men all the inhabitants of the pro-
3 vince of Rohaṇa and stirred up by an all too foolhardy vil-
lain[1], they revolted anew, to cruel destruction foredoomed.
4 When King Parakkamabāhu heard of these events he sent
5 once more a great army with dignitaries thither; and as he
fought at all the villages and market-towns named aforetime
6 ever renewed battles and made the enemy as fuel for the fire
of his own majesty, he shortly freed the whole province of
Rohaṇa from the briers (of the rebels).
7 In the sixteenth year of this King of kings, in the pro-
8 vince immediately bordering on Mahātittha[2] several people
dwelling in that province, who were near the end of their
life[3], stirred up a revolt and began the war which seemed to
9 them the better (lot)[4] Thither also the (prince) gifted with
discernment, sent a four-membered army and destroyed the
foe so that they became as dust.
10 Between the countries of Laṅkā and Rāmañña[5] there had
never been a dissension since they were inhabited by people

[1] I incline to take *lenaya pāpakammena* as referring to a person, *pāpakammena* thus to be taken like the skr. *pāpakarman* (cf. [illegible]) as a bahuvrīhi compound.

[2] See note to 44. 81.

[3] The fate to which they are doomed brings to them the foolish revolt.

[4] Better (death) than subjection to Parakkamabāhu's dominion.

[5] That is Pegu in Lower Burma.

who held the true faith. The rulers of the island of Laṅkā 11
and the monarchs of Rāmañña were both in like manner true
disciples of the Sugata[1]. Hence all former monarchs in both 12
countries in deeply-rooted trust, filled with friendly feeling[2]
were wont to send each other many costly gifts and in this 13
way for a long time to maintain intercourse without dissension.
Also with King Parakkamabāhu the Monarch of Rāmañña 14
kept up friendly relations even as former rulers who had for
a long time held firmly to him. But once upon a time the 15
deluded one hearkened to the words of slanderers, of certain
messengers who came back from our land, and deprived the 16
envoys of the Sovereign of Laṅkā who came into his own
country, of the maintenance formerly granted. Furthermore 17
he issued the order that elephants which had (hitherto) been
sold by many (traders) to foreign countries[3] were no longer
to be sold. Further with evil intent he made the restriction 18
that elephants which had formerly been sold there for a
hundred or a thousand silver nikkhalas[4] must (henceforth) be 19
sold for two or three thousand[5]. He also did away with the 20
age-old custom of presenting an elephant to every vessel in
which gifts[6] were conveyed. When he caught sight of a letter 21

[1] P. *paramasogatā*. Cf. skr. *saugata* from *sugata*, a frequent name of the Buddha which designates him as the guide on the path of salvation. R. O. Franke in his translation of the Dīghanikāya renders *sugata* by "he who completes the path".

[2] *Daḷhasaṃrūḷhavissambhā* and *sahitā* are attributes of *bhūpālā*, and the instr. *cittena hitā* (this last for *hitena*) belongs to *sahitā*.

[3] We see thus that Burma in the Middle Ages traded in elephants with foreign countries.

[4] An unknown coin. The word is without doubt connected with the P. *nikkha* or *nekkha* = skr. *niṣka* which likewise denotes a weight and a coin.

[5] VV. 18, 19 seem to be in contradiction to v. 17. I think however that in v. 17 the emphasis is to be placed on *nekattha nekehi*. It is the free trade in elephants that according to v. 17 the king makes an end of, putting in its place a royal monopoly. This is immediately followed by an enormous rise in prices.

[6] Evidently from foreign sovereigns, in the first place the king of Laṅkā with whom according to v. 13 such exchange of gifts had fre-

written on gold, addressed to himself, he under the pretext
22 that they were envoys sent to Kamboja[1], or saying something
of that kind, had the envoys of the Sovereign of Laṅkā after
taking from them all their goods and chattels, thrown into a
23 fortress in the Malaya country[2]. And although he learned
exactly how his own envoy Tapassin by name, had had every
24 distinction conferred on him by the Ruler of Laṅkā, he nevertheless bereft of all political wisdom, took everything away
from the envoys of the Monarch of Laṅkā: their money, their
25 elephants and their vessels, had blocks of wood fastened to
their feet to their greatest torture, and employed them in the
26 work of sprinkling water in the prisons. When once upon a
time a prince of Jambudīpa Kassapa by name, sent costly gifts
27 along with a letter on gold, he forbade his people to land and
in an insulting manner made them take the letter back to their
28 town. One day he had the Sīhala envoys summoned to him
and declared to them: "Henceforth no vessel from the Sīhala
29 country shall be sent to my kingdom. Give us now in writing the declaration that if (messengers) from there are again
sent to us, in case we should slay the envoys who have come
30 here, no blame of any kind will attach to us[3]. If ye give
not the declaration ye shall not have permission to return
31 home." After he had made them sign this, so that in the
event of a transgression they should not return again to their
32 country[4], he took the paper from their hand. The teacher

[illegible]ently taken place. The king of Rāmañña does not put an end to the intercourse but alters it in a way which shows unfriendliness.

[1] Name of Western Siam.

[2] Malaya denotes as in Ceylon and in Southern India [illegible] the mountainous regions of the country.

[3] In the original direct discourse: "If [illegible] are sent here [illegible] in case ye slay [illegible] no blame will attach to you."

[4] The passage is doubtful. [illegible]

[illegible]

Vāgissara and the scholar Dhammakitti[1] he sent off in a leaky
vessel into the open sea. Once upon a time he took from 33
the hands of the messengers the gifts and goods which the
Ruler of Laṅkā had sent in order to buy elephants, with the 34
promise that he would give them fourteen elephants and silver
money[2], but he told merely lies and gave them nothing.
Further they seized by force a princess whom the Ruler of 35
Laṅkā had sent to Kamboja land.

When King Parakkamabāhu heard of these many insults 36
committed by that (prince), he thought with the greatest in-
dignation: "Where in the whole of Jambudīpa is there a king 37
who would be capable of treating my envoys in such a manner?"
He summoned his ministers and spake: "Either the capture 38
or the slaying of the king of Arimaddaṇa[3] must be effected."
Hereupon there spake a distinguished official of the public 39
accounts, the Damiḷādhikārin by name Ādicca, with clasped
hands — he wished himself to undertake the enterprise — to 40
the King thus: "It is not necessary to entrust[4] the chief digni-
taries with this task. If I do not stray a single step from 41
the path of thy order it will be for me, if I undertake the
task — even should I be quite alone — in very truth not diffi- 42
cult to carry out in successful fashion the commands of my
lord whose commands are hardly to be transgressed." When the 43
King heard that he was content. He placed under him the
troop leaders who were to be sent and commanded him to
depart speedily. Then the highly-famed one gave the order 44
without delay to make ready ships of various kinds, many
hundreds in number. Now all the country round about the 45

[1] These were evidently the envoys from which the written declaration had been wrung. They reached home in spite of the leaky ship, otherwise their death would without doubt have been mentioned. They escaped it as by a miracle.

[2] In the original again the or. recta: "We shall give you &c." The goods are therefore paid partly in cash partly with elephants

[3] For this capital of Burma see M. Bode, Sāsanavaṃsa, Dissertation, p. 20 and passim.

[4] P. *yojetvālaṃ* stands for *yojetu(ṃ) alaṃ*.

coast was one great workshop *fully occupied with the build-*
46 ing of the ships taken in hand. When within five months he
had had all the ships well built, he assembled them in haste
47 at the port of Pallavavaṅka. Then endowed with vast royal
power[1], he had provisions supplied[2] for a whole year such as
48 rice and the like and abundant weapons of war, such as armour
and the like; further gokaṇṇaka arrows[3] of iron with sharp
points, many hundred thousand in number for defence against
49 elephants, also different kinds of medicines, preserved in cow
horns for the healing of venomous wounds caused by poisoned
50 arrows, as well as all kinds of remedies for curing the poison
of infected water in the many swampy stretches of country;
51 also iron pincers for extracting arrow-heads which are difficult
to move when they have pierced deeply and the shaft has
52 broken, lastly also skilful physicians and serving women —
53 everything in complete fashion[4]. After he versed as none
other in the right measures, had made a strong force —
54 numbering many hundreds of thousands — embark, the Ruler
sent all the ships off on one day loaded with all kinds of arms
55 and filled with capable soldiers. Now when this assemblage
of ships all at the same time[5] sailed forth in the midst of
56 the ocean it looked like a swimming island. Subdued by
adverse winds some of these ships went down, some drifted
57 on to foreign shores. Numbers of trusty warriors who had
embarked in one of the vessels landed on the *Crows' island*[6].
58 They fought a battle there, captured several of the inhabitants

[1] P. *mahārājānubhāvasamyuto* in v. 53d.

[2] P. *pāpayitvāna* in v. 53c.

[3] *Gokarṇa* in Skt. also means a particular type of arrow. The elephants (*vāraṇa*) against which they are to serve as defence ([illegible]) are of course the war elephants of the enemy. The MSS are more favourable to the form of the word *piḷaggala* which might easily be a syncope for *piḷaṅgala*.

[4] Asesato is employed as adverb with *pāpayitvāna* and refers to everything that has gone before.

[5] So I understand the P. *samaṁ*.

[6] P. *Kākadīpa*. Perhaps the name of one of the Andaman Islands?

of the island alive, brought them then to the King of Laṅkā and presented them to him. Warriors of great fighting strength 59
who sailed on five vessels landed on the territory of Rāmañña in the port called Kusumi[1]. These doughty soldiers with the 60
Nagaragiri Kitti at the head, equipped with armour and weapons, slew from their landing-place the troops belonging to the Rā- 61
mañña country, many thousands of them in terrible combat and while they, like to rutting elephants, hewed down around many 62
coco palms and other trees and set fire to the villages, they laid waste a great part of the kingdom. But the ship on which the 63
Damiḷādhikārin Ādicca commanded, landed in the territoiy (of Rāmañña) at the port of Papphālama, and while at once the 64
people with the Damiḷādhikārin at the head, fought a gruesome, fearful, foe-destroying battle and captured alive many 65
people living in the country, they plunged the Rāmañña kingdom into sore confusion. Thereupon the Sīhalas with terrible 66
courage, fearful with their swords, burst into the town of Ukkama and slew the Monarch of the Ramaṇas. When they had 67
subdued the Ramaṇas and brought their country into their power, the great heroes[2] mounted a splendid white elephant. They rode round the town free from all fear turning the right 68
side towards it and thereupon made known by beat of drum the supremacy of the Sovereign of Laṅkā[3].

[1] Evidently the Kusima(tittha) frequently mentioned in the Sāsanavaṃsa.

[2] Probably Ādicca and Kitti are meant.

[3] The Burmese chronicles have nothing to say about such a catastrophe having overtaken their country. The description in the Mahāvaṃsa is without doubt very much exaggerated. The fact of a successful campaign against Rāmañña is, however, confirmed by the important inscription of Devanagala in the Kegalla district, Galboda Korale, Meda Pattuva, whose significance H. C. P. Bell was the first to recognise (Report on the Kégalla District, ASC. 1892, p. 73 ff). According to this inscription — one of Parakkamabāhu I. — the war against Aramaṇa was determined on in the 12th year of the King's reign. The reigning king of Aramaṇa at that time is called Bhuvanāditta. The inscription also mentions the town of Kusumi (cf. v. 59) and tells finally of the granting of land to Kit-Nuvaragiri (= Kittinagaragiri v. 60) evidently

69 Then overwhelmed by fear the people in the Rāmañña land, seeing no other protection, gathered together and held
70 counsel. With the instructions: "Year by year must we from now onwards send elephants to any amount as tribute from
71 our property — in order that the Monarch of Lankā may not
72 lay on us intolerable (burdens), ye must influence him[1] and
73 thereby at all times full of pity, have mercy on us all" — they sent in haste their messengers with letters in their hand to the bhikkhu community[2] dwelling in the island of Lankā.
74 Through the friendly words of the community living in the *three fraternities*, the Ruler of Lankā was moved to kindness,
75 and while the Rāmaṇas sent him yearly numbers of elephants, they made anew with the Lankā Ruler who kept his treaties faithfully, a pact of friendship.
76 Now the Paṇḍu king by name Parakkama, in the town of Madhurā[3], when his capital was besieged by the war-loving,
77 hostile king named Kulasekhara who had come thither with an army, had found in the territory of Jambudīpa no king
78 with whom he might have taken refuge. He sent messengers to the Monarch of Lankā with the message: "(O) Thou with
79 whom I may take refuge, thy two feet shall be for me who

as reward for his services. The Dambadeṇi [illegible] He appears to have died soon after the campaign as he [illegible] again in the Cūḷavaṃsa.

[1] Thus I translate the phrase [illegible]

[2] The sense of the passage is [illegible] clear. The [illegible] through the [illegible] of the Church to obtain [illegible] peace [illegible] The data [illegible] since the MSS. all agree [illegible] be traced to the archetype. The [illegible] Three words [illegible] certain [illegible] 71c to 72d I translated [illegible] King that he [illegible] what [illegible]

[3] [illegible] Madhurā [illegible]

am a moth in the fire of the majesty of my foe, a cage of
diamond". When the sovereign of Laṅkā heard their speech,
he spake thus: "If the distress of him who has placed him- 80
self under my protection be not removed, how would my name
of Parakkamabāhu[1] be fitting? He who trusts in me is hard 81
to vanquish by a foe, be he who he may. From what foe
among the brutes is the hare in peril who has fled to the moon[2]?
General Laṅkāpura, slay Kulasekhara, establish the Paṇḍu 82
king in his realm and then return." The general by name 83
Laṅkāpura, a very courageous man, versed in the means of
war, a forest fire for the wide(-spreading) wilderness of the 84
foe, received with the words "Be it so!" the King's command
like a wreath upon his head and accompanied by many war-
skilled officers, he marched at the head of an army invincible 85
in battle and came to Mahātittha.

King Kulasekhara had (in the meantime) slain the Paṇḍu 86
king with his wife and children and captured the town Madhurā
by name. Laṅkāpura received from the Great king who had 87
heard of these events, anew the order to conquer the kingdom
and make it over to a scion of the house of Parakkama[3]. He
set forth for the port Taladilla[4] by name on the opposite
coast. He embarked his great army on many hundreds of 88

[1] The name means "arm of courage, possesed of courageous arms". Parakkamabāhu's campaign against Southern India is confirmed by Coḷa inscriptions (Inscr. of Arpakkam near Kāñcī) according to which the result for the Sīhala troops was not so brilliant as the Mhvs. would have us believe. After initial successes they were forced to retire. Cf. for further details V. A. Smith, Early History of India, p. 340; H. W. Codrington, Short History of Ceylon, p. 62, 74. To the name Kulasekhara corresponds Kulottuṅga in Indian inscriptions (EI. VII, p. 170 ff.).

[2] The Hindu thinks he sees the picture of a hare in the disk of the full moon, just as we speak of a "man in the moon". The moon is therefore called in P. *sasin* = skr. *śaśin*, from *sasa* = *śaśa* "hare".

[3] Instead of the names Laṅkāpura and Parakkama the original has pronouns.

[4] The MSS. have all *Taladilla* or *Talaṇḍilla*, in v. 92 only the first form. The Col. Ed. reads *Talabbilla* with the variant *Talavvilla*, I do not know with what authority.

ships, started off and sailed a day and a night on the back
89 of the ocean When he caught sight of the coast, since a
hostile army was standing there, he made all his troops put
90 on their armour on board. As the ships had to lie in deep
water[1] and because with a landing just at this spot, the
91 armour of the whole army would have been wet through, he
made the troops get into hundreds of boats of small size[2].
Then when the rain of arrows from the Damiḷas standing on
92 the coast, came flying, he had shields fashioned of leather set
up in front of the people (as protection) against the arrows
and so landed *in the Paṇḍu kingdom at the port called Ta-*
93 *lattila* After putting to flight the Damiḷas at the port and
capturing the harbour, he took up a position there and fought
94 with vast forces four battles. When the five officers, Vaḷa-
valattirukka-naḷaḷvara[3], Kuṇḍayamutta-rayara, Villava-rayara[4],
95 Arcuko[illegible]a-naḷaḷvara and Narasihadeva by name, advanced to
96 fight[5], he fought also with these, slew many Damiḷas, took
97 away their horses, put to flight the great army and occupied
Rāmissara[6] He fought with them while he was posted there.

[1] P. [illegible] The meaning is [illegible] The coast was so flat that the ships could not be close to the shore. They had to [illegible] in deep water [illegible] the troops in boats (see the following note).

[2] P. [illegible] must be taken here in the sense of a [illegible]

[3] [illegible]

[4] [illegible]

[5] [illegible]

[6] [illegible]

five combats and after fighting nine battles[1] he fought[2] in
the tenth against the six officers Silāmegha, Naratuṅgabrahma- 98
mahārāja, Ilaṅkiya-rāyara, Añcukoṭṭa-rāyara, Phaḷudhiya-rāyara 99
by name and him called Panasiyarāja[3], as well as the five 100
officers named above who had advanced with great forces. He
bore away the victory, seized many horses[4], slew the Damiḷas 101
and penetrated from Rāmissara a distance of four gāvutas[5]
to Kundukāla which lies between the two seas. The many 102
Damiḷas who had fled through fear, took refuge in the forest;
he captured several of them and had them impaled there.
Some of these, at the command of the Ruler of Laṅkā who 103
thought to have all the cetiyas formerly destroyed by the
Damiḷas rebuilt by them, he had brought to Laṅkā and the 104
work of restoration begun on the Ratanavāluka-cetiya[6]. The 105
Sovereign of Laṅkā had the thūpa which had been destroyed
by the Damiḷas restored, and in order at the close to celebrate
the festival of the crowning ornament[7], he betook himself 106
with his ministers and the court to Anurādhapura and assembled

[1] That is besides the five combats the four mentioned in v. 93.

[2] The verb governing the accusative in vv. 99—100 is *yuddhaṃ katvā* in v. 100 c which is treated as in 38. 36, as a transitive verb.

[3] In the Col. Ed. the names *Naratuṅgabrahmamahārājavhayo* in 98 and *Panasiyarājavhayo* are changed contrary to all the MSS. into *Naratuṅgabrahmahā rāyaravhayo* and *Paṇasiyarāyaravhayo.* Apparently the editors wanted to avoid the wrong close of the verse °*rājavhayo*, but in v. 95 we have just as wrong a °*devavhayo* which is not corrected in Col. Ed. Mentioned again later are Sīlamegha(ra) 76. 238, 299; 77. 90 and Ilaṅkiya 76. 191 f. For Añcukoṭṭa see above.

[4] The organization of the Damiḷa army evidently differed materially from that of the Sīhalas in the greater number of its cavalry. In all accounts of victories gained (see already above v. 96) horses are always mentioned as the principal booty.

[5] That is about 8 miles. Kundukāla was situated on the tongue of land jutting out from the continent to the island of Rāmeśvara.

[6] Name of the Mahāthūpa in Anurādhapura corresponding to what is now known as the *Ruvanväli*. It is used here for the first time. The allied designation *Hemavālukacetiya* occurs already in 51. 82.

[7] P. *thūpikāmaha.* By *thūpikā* is understood the pointed cone resting on the cube-like structure which forms the apex or finial of the thūpa.

107 the great bhikkhu community on the island of Lanka. He provided the community with the four articles of use and when the fourteenth day[1] had arrived he had made known in
108 the town by beat of drum: "The town shall be decorated; and provided with perfumes, flowers and other offerings shall the people come to the place of the Mahathupa." After he had then on the day of the full moon performed in right
109 manner all the old customs, he himself came as the shadows grew longer, from the royal palace[2]. In divine beauty he was adorned with costly ornaments, with crown, necklace[3], bracelets
110 and the like, (all) richly set with jewels. In front of him went the ladies of the court many hundreds in number, with the
111 grace of heavenly nymphs, their bodies decorated, and there followed him[4] numbers of distinguished officers with richly
112 decorated garments and resplendent in bright clothing. With the mass of the elephants and horses gleaming with their golden harness, doing reverence[5] to the cetiya with a gift of
113 lamps distributed over their bodies, and with the burden of the mass of human beings he pressed as it were, the earth together. With umbrellas, whisks and banners he veiled in
114 a sense the countenance of the firmament. With the sound of the manifold instruments of music he cleft asunder the mountain ranges, with the splendour of his majesty he completely
115 bewildered the eyes of the laity[6] and with the [illegible]

[1] That is the [illegible]

[2] [illegible]

[3] [illegible]

[4] [illegible]

[5] [illegible]

[6] [illegible]

the golden utensils, chests, banners, vessels, fans, jars and the
like he steeped the place in radiant glory[1]. Thus on he came 116
and took his place with the splendour of the King of the gods
in the court of the cetiya. Many hundreds of bhikkhus who 117
had come hither, surrounded the cetiya, closing it round, as
it were, with a railing of coral[2]. The King then had the 118
golden point placed on the thūpa and showed the world there-
with the beauty of the Kelāsa mountain with the sun on its
summit. On this day too there reigned in the town also dur- 119
ing the night great brightness with the lamp festival of the
King and because of the point placed upon the thūpa. When 120
thus the Monarch Parakkamabāhu had celebrated the great
festival of the sacred thūpa, he betook himself again to
Pulatthinagara.

But the general (Laṅkāpura) had a strong camp called 121
Parakkamapura built at Kundukāla, and as he wished to make
it last long, he erected three high walls of stone, two thou- 122
sand, four hundred cubits long[3] and twelve gate towers, and a 123
building with a hall square[4] and three trenches in such a way
that the waters flowed from ocean to ocean[5]. While he tarried 124
in this stronghold he subdued officers like Kañcakuḍiyarāja[6]
by name, Coḷagaṅga and others. Since in this way the power 125
of the Sīhalas waxed from day to day, King Kulasekhara
sent again Sundarapaṇḍurāja[7] and Paṇḍurāja by name and 126

[1] P. *piñjaraṃ karaṃ* "making ruddy, light-coloured".

[2] P. *parāḷavedikāya*. Here *vedikā* has again clearly the meaning of railing. Cf. note to 73. 88. The coral colour is supplied by the reddish yellow colour of the monks' robes.

[3] As *ratana* means the same as *hattha* (see 37. 172) that is roughly about $1^{1}/_{2}$ ft. thus the wall was 3600 ft. in extent.

[4] See note to 73. 23. Here there were evidently as W. supposes, barracks for the soldiers.

[5] The fortifications were spread right across the whole of the peninsula and thus safeguarded it and the camp from the mainland. *Tathā* belongs of course to *kāretvā parikhātayaṃ* and *yathā* (*gacchanti*) refers to *tathā*.

[6] We have to read here and in v. 130 *So Kañcakuḍiya°*; *so* refers each time to Laṅkāpura. Cf. note to 76. 170,

[7] Is mentioned again 76. 174.

127 many other officers with troops to drive them thence Laṅkā-
pura fought with them three combats, put them to flight and
128 took the village called Carukkaṭṭa And he set out from there
and fought with these same officers as well as with the Damila
129 Ālavandapperūmaḷa[1] a great battle, carried away the victory
and captured the villages by name Koḷuvura and Maruthupa
130 In the district Kuncakuḍiya and in the district named Koḷūru
131 the general subdued the soldiers called Maravara[2] In the
district of Viraganga the mighty (general) plundered many vil-
lages and market towns such as Kuṇappunallura and others,
132 and after subduing the powerful officer called Maḷava-rāyara[3]
and thousands of Damiḷas, he took up his abode there
133 Thereupon he returned and betook himself to Parakkamapura
134 to satisfy his troops by the distribution of food and pay[4] On
the march thither he gave battle to Aḷavanda who had his
position at the village called Vaḍali and slew him
135 Since now the powerful king Kulasekhara — who possess-
ed the courage of a lion, whose great army was war-tried,
136 who well understood the expedients of war although he
had sent forth his great dignitaries with big army and train
had not been able to win the victory, he himself set forth
137 to fight Maḷava cakkavattin, Maḷava-rayara by name, Pa-
138 ṭṭikkuṇḍiyara[5] and Toṇḍamanaraya by name, Tuvarādhipati-

[1] Is mentioned again 76. 131 145 223 242.

[2] This is probably the caste or rather tribe of the Maravar living in the district of Madura (See Imperial Gazetteer of India s. v. Madura) where with the Vellalar and the Kallar (= Kallara in 76. 246) they are characteristic. They seem to be descended from the aborigines and were known in early times as fearless soldiers.

[3] Cf. below in v 137 Maḷava-cakkavattin and Maḷava-rāyara. The first name again in 76. 235 265 274 284 77 27 the second 76 210, 267 f. Māḷava is the name of a tribe. See Epigraphia Indica VII Appendix nr 10, 64 401.

[4] A veiled allusion to certain difficulties with which Laṅkāpura was faced during his advance. Note too that the place Vaḍali named in v 134 is later on again occupied by him (see v 163) and that only after severe fighting.

[5] For Māḷava see note to 76. 132. Paṭṭikkuṇḍiyara is again mention-

veḷāra, Vīrapperaya-rāyara, Seṅkuṇḍiya-rāyara and Nigaḷadha-
rāyara by name, Karummaḷatta-rāyara and Nakula-rāyara, 139
Puṅkoṇḍa-nāḍāḷvāra and Karamba-rāyara by name, Kuṇḍiyūru 140
and Athalayūru-nāḍāḷvāra[1] by name, Kaṅgayara, the two
Vīragaṅgas, Muva-rāyara, Aḷattūru-nāḍāḷvāra, the three Maṇṇa- 141
ya-rāyaras, Kaḷavaṇḍiya-nāḍāḷvāra and Keraḷasīhamuttara —
these and other officers, as well as those named above he 142
took with him, further the remaining troops in the province
of the Paṇḍu King Parakkama, the whole forces of his mother's 143
brothers in the two Koṅgu districts and the whole of his own
forces in the kingdom of Tiriṇaveli[2]. Also Niccavinodavāṇava- 144
rāyara[3], Paṭṭi-rāyara, Taṅkuttara-rāyara and Tompiya-rāyara
by name, Āḷavandapperūmāḷa, him called Coḷakonāra as well 145
as Tāṅgipperūmāḷa and Aḷakhiya-rāyara by name, him called 146
Mānābharaṇamahārāja, Avandiya-rāyara, Muṇayadha[4]-rāyara
by name and the Damiḷa Viṭṭāra: also these officers with vast 147
army and train he took with him and marched near to Pa-

ed in 76. 221. As regards the other names mentioned in 137—141, Toṇḍamānāraya occurs again in 76. 315, 77. 1 ff., Tuvarādhipati again in 76. 315, 77. 67; Vīrapperaya again in 76 316, 77. 6 f., Seṅkuṇḍiya 76. 221, 77. 7, 35; Nigaḷadha again 77. 16 ff.; Karummaḷatta again 76. 216; Puṅkoṇḍa again 76. 240, 273 ff., 77. 57, 92; Athalayūru again 76. 260. 77. 27; Kaṅgayara again 76. 260, 316, 77. 15; Vīragaṅga again 76. 131, 179 ff.; Muva again 76. 216; Aḷattūru again 76. 184, 214 ff., 305; Maṇṇaya again 77. 7, 35 (cf. note to 76. 220); Kaḷavaṇḍiya again 76. 267, 316, 77. 10 ff.; Keraḷasīhamuttara again 77. 7. Nakula, Karamba and Kaṇḍiyūru do not occur again.

[1] The Col. Ed. has contrary to the MSS. °*tha'aṇḍūru*.

[2] Now Tinnevelli, the district filling out the extreme south-east corner of the Indian peninsula. The correct form of the name is Tirunelvēli. See Imp. Gazetteer of India s. v.; W.'s note to the passage. The two Koṅgu districts are according to 76. 288, Teṅkoṅgu and Vaḍakoṅgu.

[3] Of the officers named here Niccavinodavāṇava occurs again in 77. 76. For Āḷavandapperūmāḷa see note to 76. 128; a Coḷakonāra is mentioned again 76. 163, 181, 188, 77. 77, 86. Tāṅgipperūmāḷa 76. 190; Muṇayadha 77. 40. The other names are only mentioned here

[4] Again the Col. Ed. changes the name, contrary to the MSS. into Mundiya.

148 rakkamapura. "Only when I shall have cut off the heads of the Sīhalas shall this time my sacrifice to the gods in holy
149 Rāmissara take place!" Letting such lion-like cry sound forth, he occupied a strong encampment at the village of Erukāṭṭa
150 and Ilagalissara. Now in order to destroy the strong encampment of Parakkamapura, Kulasekhara sent forth a great army from the land side and another embarked in numbers of ships
151 from the ocean. When thus the mighty force coming from different sides began the fight it was as if two seas overflowed their
152 shores. Laṅkāpura made his great army put on their armour, advanced from his strong encampment and began the battle
153 with the others. But the army of the Damiḷas suffered fighting in the battle (heavy loss by) sword blows and arrow shots.
154 It weakened, turned tail and withdrew to its own stronghold. In this way it fought in the offensive three and fifty actions.
155 But when King Kulasekhara saw this disaster in every combat,
156 he himself set forth and sent out his troops to fight. Laṅkāpura had all the gates opened and placing his army like a
157 great mountain in front of him, he came forth. He slew in combat numbers of Damiḷas[1], took away their horses, gained the victory and pressed forward in pursuit as far as Kurum-
158 baṇḍanakali. While he was beginning here to build a strong encampment[2], Kulasekhara gathered together his great army
159 which had been shattered in the fight, took also his picked troops[3] whom he cherished as his life, marched hither himself
160 and opened fight awaking terror among the foe. With thousands of fish, namely the (glittering) swords, with hundreds of waves, namely the horses, with the mass of the waters, namely the infantry, with the lines of surf namely the um-
161 brellas[4], with the flowing of the streams[5], namely the arrows,

[1] Of course we must read *Damiḷe* [illegible]
[2] See also. It must be supplemented by *tena*. "When by him there it was begun the building of a strong encampment."
[3] P. [illegible] *mahāvanam*. By this is meant the [illegible] wood of a tree.
[4] The white umbrellas are the badges of the [illegible].
[5] P. [illegible] *patena*. What is meant are the streams flowing [illegible]

with the clamorous din, namely the drums, the whole battle-field was terror-striking like the ocean. When thus the great 162
battle was fought, the Sīhalas endowed with great courage, stilled the twitching in their arms[1]. They slew Villava-rāyara 163
by name and Coḷakonāra and the mighty officer, Yādhava[2]-rāyara, many hundreds of soldiers and officers of the king; 164
also they wounded the horse on which King Kulasekhara was riding. Kulasekhara with his army turned to flee in order 165
therewith to give the Sīhalas, as it were, occasion for yet more furious sword strokes. When in fight he fled, he not 166
only surrendered his courage but also his throne, his umbrella, his ornaments and all else. Laṅkāpura marched to the fortress 167
called Erukkāvūra where his enemy King Kulasekhara had resided, burned it down and then after erecting a new strong- 168
hold, Laṅkāpura[3] tarried there some time. Then he set forth and marched to Vaḍali[4]. Thence he advanced farther and 169
hereupon took Deviyāpattana by force. Then he betook him- 170
self to Siriyavala and after completely vanquishing in bitter combat the well-armed Khuddakañcakuṇḍa-rāyara[5] commanding 171
the stronghold named Koḷuvukkoṭṭa, he put to flight in battle numbers of dignitaries of King Kulasekhara, captured also 172
this strong place and burned down seven and twenty large villages in (the district) Dantika. Hereupon he fought with

the ocean. The comparison of the combat to the raging sea is described exactly in accordance with the rules of Indian poetics.

[1] They had abundant opportunity of satisfying their thirst for fighting.

[2] The first two names occur already in 76. 94, 145, but are also mentioned again later on (Villava 76. 173. [illegible]; a Coḷakonāra 76. 173. 181 and 188, 77. 77 and 86, also a Yādhava 76. 173, 177). Cf. note to 76. [illegible]. Yādava is a South Indian clan name. See EI. VII. Appendix, nr. 331, 332, 334 etc.

[3] All the MSS. have here *[illegible]* which should be adopted in principle in the text. W. supposes it might be a corruption of *[illegible]*. Not impossible.

[4] See above note to v. 133.

[5] The same as *Cullakañcakuṇḍa* "the small Kañcakuṇḍa" in [illegible] 217 ff. The name is most closely connected with that of the [illegible] *Kañcakuḍiya* 76. 130, this again with the proper name *[illegible]* 76. 124.

173 the Damiḷa Paṇḍiyāṇḍāra[1] dwelling in Koḷuvukkoṭṭa who was
of terrible courage, with both Colakonāras, with the officer
174 Yādhava-rāyara and with Villava-rāyara, with the Damiḷa
Kāliṅga-rāyara with Sundarapaṇḍu-rāyara, with Narasihadevara
175 and with Paṇḍiya-rāyara as well as with the (officers) in the
village of the brāhmaṇas, shattered them and slew many
176 Damiḷas. He took (as booty) many horses and armed with
troop and train, took up a position at the place named
177 Kuṇḍayamkoṭṭa. He brought into his power the three Damiḷa
officers, Kuṇḍayamutta-rāyara, Kaḍiliya-rāyara and Yādhava-
178 rāyara and took up a position at that place, well understand-
ing right places. Further the great hero brought into his
179 power Paṇḍiya-rāyara in the fortress of Vikkamacoḷappera
180 and the three, Paṇḍimaṇḍala-nāḍāḷvāra, Viragaṅga-rayara and
Kaṅgakoṇḍapperayara, who were in Kāmāṇākkoṭṭa and advanced
to Maruthukoṭṭa with the object of fighting a decisive battle[2].

[1] Only occurs here. For Colakonara see note to 76. 144, for Yādhava note to 76. 163, for Villava ibidem, for Sundarapaṇḍu note to 76. 1[illegible]. Kaliṅga is mentioned again 76. 314 ff., 77. 40.

[2] Verses 170–180 form one sentence. The principal verb is [illegible] (180c); subordinate to it are the gerunds in 170–172 and the gerunds and pres. part. in 175–6 as well as those in 178 and 180a. The nominatives in 172c–174d, in 177a–c and in 178c–179c are independent of the construction of the sentence and are summed up with iti (cf. [illegible] 175a, [illegible] 177cd, [illegible] 179d). Note how in the account of the contests in Southern India the names of the Damiḷa officers repeat themselves. Only once in this passage are Kaḍiliya, Paṇḍiyamaṇḍala and Paṇḍiyaṇḍāra mentioned, as well as Kaṅgakoṇḍapperayara, with which Kaṅgakoṇḍakalappa 77. 75 may be compared. Paṇḍiya-rayara is mentioned twice in this passage but not otherwise, Yādhava here in v. 173 and 177, before in v. 163. In v. 163 a Colakonara, a Villava and a Yādhava are mentioned as having fallen. Possibly these may often be place names as above in the case of [illegible] rather than names of persons, Villava-rayara meaning for instance the rayara of Villava [illegible]. [illegible] and Narasihadevara occur already in 76. [illegible]. Viragaṅga already in 76. 131, 143 and [illegible] and later repeatedly (76. 141 ff.). [illegible] It is expressly stated that there are two [illegible] (76. [illegible]). It is the same below with [illegible]. The same with [illegible] and with [illegible]. In v. 141 three [illegible] rayaras are mentioned.

There he gave the Coḷakonāra, the other Tondriya, the officer 181
Suttāṇḍāra, the Damiḷa Vīragaṅgara, Kuttāṇḍāra and others a 182
severe combat. He robbed Tondriya of his life, took his horses 183
away from him, slew many Damiḷas and occupied besides the
fortress known by the name of Kaṅgakoṇḍāna. Then he set 184
from there, took up a position at the place named Paṇiva,
fought there with the two Aḷattūru-nāḍāḷvāras, with Pandriya-
rāyara, Villava-rāyara and Cullakañcakuṇḍa-rāyara[1] a great 185
battle, shattered them and captured Paṇivakkoṭṭa. Then he 186
turned and betook himself to Kaṅgakoṇḍāna[2] where he had
stood formerly. Hereupon he marched to Vālakkoṭṭa[3] to fight 187
there, fought there against Kaṇḍadevamāḷava-rāyara, against the
two Vīragaṅgaras and the Damiḷa Coḷakonāra a great battle, 188
shattered them all and slew numbers of Damiḷas, seized from 189
them many horses and captured with this fortress (Vālakkoṭṭa)
also (the fortress) Neṭṭūru[4]. He himself took up a position
there, brought Kuttāṇḍā(ra)[5], Vīragaṅga and Tāṅgipperūmāḷa 190
and the Damiḷas dependent in him, many hundreds in number,
as well as Ilaṅkiya and Añcukoṭṭa-rāyara under his influence, 191
gave them earrings and other ornaments. But on Ilaṅkiya- 192
rāyara he conferred the well-known and coveted title of Rā-
javesibhujanga-Silāmegha[6].

Meanwhile Laṅkāpura learned that the very youngest son of 193
the Paṇḍu King Parakkama, Prince Vīrapaṇḍu by name, at the 194
murder of his unhappy royal father — who had fallen with wife
and child into the power of the enemy — by some wile or other 195

[1] See above v. 170 and note.

[2] W. translates *paccāvutto* wrongly by "he proceeded to . . ." Its meaning is far rather "he returned to . . ." Cf. skr. *prati-ā-vart.* Evidently the attack on Paṇiva had not the wished-for success.

[3] The text here is very corrupt, but the name Vālakkoṭṭa is assured

[4] W. suggests, though doubtfully, Nellore. That is quite impossible Nellore lies north of Madras. The scene of the combats described lay between Ramisseram and Madhurā. Cf. v. 197.

[5] Cf. above v. 182.

[6] The gerund *datvā* in 192 b shows that the sentence here is not finished. The principal verb is *pesesi* in 196 a. For the title Rājavesibhujaṅga see note to 73. 91 c d (p. 10, n. 3).

had been saved from the hands of the foe and now, since through
fear he dared not come near, was sojourning in the province of
196 Malaya[1] He (Lankāpura) sent a messenger to him "I have here
in war again and again completely vanquished Kulasekhara
197 together with his dignitaries and am now standing, after cap-
turing a part of the realm, not far from Madhurā at a distance
198 of two or three gāvutas[2] But my Master who had in view
the protection of thy royal father, has since the murder of
199 this Ruler by his foes, at the tidings of this, given me the
following charge 'he has placed himself under my protection,
if now he has been slain by the hostile king, ye shall now
200 slay the latter and make over the realm of the Paṇḍu King
201 Parakkama to a scion of his house, if such there be' There-
fore come without fear in haste hither, and take over the
dominion in thy father's kingdom" Thus ran the friendly
202 message in accord with the truth[3] When the Prince heard
of this matter in the right manner, he betook himself to him
203 without delay Hereupon Lankāpura sent a letter to Lankā
to the Great king with the news that the prince had arrived
204 destitute When the Great king had attentively heard this
report, he sent joyfully many golden and silver vessels worthy
205 to eat from, as well as many gold and silver lamp-stands and
exquisite garments from his own stock, worthy to clothe
206 himself with, earrings and chains and bangles set with jewels
207 and the like as a gladdening gift. And the Prince accepted
the whole of the heart-ravishing gift reverently making *obei-
sance* in the direction in which the King was

208 Hereupon Lankāpura fought with great might against
Kaṇḍadevamaḷava-rāyara in Muṇḍikkāra, drove him from this
209 place and brought the Damilas into his power in the two

[1] As in Ceylon and Pegu (6 22) also in Southern India name for the mountainous country Cf the name of the Malayalis who live in the districts of Arcot and Salem that is in the mountains west of Pondicherry

[2] About four to six miles. See note to 73 154

[3] The words *ti vatvā saccam vaco mudu* in v 201 d refer to *dutam pesesi* in v 96, comprehending the contents of the message

districts Kīḷamaṅgala and Melamaṅgala[1] while he tarried there.
Then by restoring Muṇḍikkāra to Māḷava-rāyara — whose 210
heart was overwhelmed with fear and who bereft of all de-
fiance, had placed himself under his protection — he placed 211
him in his (old) position and appointed him chief of the two
districts of Maṅgala. When then Laṅkāpura, while tarrying 212
in Anivalakoṭṭa, had appointed the colonel Gokaṇṇanāṇḍa who
was in Muṇḍannānaṃkoṭṭa as chief[2], he set forth from there 213
and surprised Neṭṭūru[3]. He fought with the officers quartered
in Mānavīramadhurā, with the two Aḷattūru-nāḍāḷvāras, with 214
Kāliṅga-rāyara[4] and Kalikāla-rāyara a great battle. The 215
mighty one slew many Damiḷas, as well as Kalikāla-rāyara
and brought Madhurā into his possession. He brought here- 216
upon many Damiḷas, as well as Muvaraya and Karumbūḷatta-
rāyara[5] into his power, marched then with his troops to the 217
castle of Aḷattūru-nāḍāḷvāra, fought hard to subdue, with
Kāliṅga-rāyara and Cullakañcakuṇḍa-rāyara a great battle, 218
drove them with terrible courage from this place, and after 219
he had then burnt down many well-known villages, the great
hero betook himself again to Neṭṭūru[6]. Now there came 220
from the south hither Cullakañcakuṇḍa-rāyara, the two
Aḷattūru-nāḍāḷvāras, Mannāya-rāyara[7], further Parittikuṇḍiyāra 221

[1] Upper and Lower Maṅgala (W.).

[2] The loc. *Anivalakkoṭṭe* (cf. below note to v. 235) belongs equally to *vasaṃ* and to (*nāyakaṃ*) *katvā*. The supplementing of the word *nāyakaṃ* is to be inferred from *gokaṇṇanāṇḍanāyakaṃ* and *nāyakaṃ vidhāya* in v. 211. W. has quite a different rendering but hardly a correct one "and made him (the Māḷava-rāyara) chief of Gokaṇṇanāḍu in Muṇḍānaṇkoṇḍa."

[3] Mentioned already in v. 189, a proof that the fighting went on with alternate vicissitudes round about Madhurā.

[4] For this name see 76. 174.

[5] Cf. for these names 76. 140 and 139.

[6] Verses 208—219 form one sentence. They show how rapidly one event followed another. Neṭṭūru formed, as is shown also by verses 285-7, 294, 303 ff., henceforth a main centre for Laṅkāpura's operations.

[7] Perhaps the same as the Maṇṇaya-rāyara mentioned in 76. 141, 77. 7 and 35. For the other names in 221—223 see note to 76. 170 (Cullak°); n. to 76. 180, 184 (Aḷ-n), 76. 137 (Par. and Seṅk.).

and Seṅkuṇḍi-rāyara and many other war-skilled Damiḷas,
222 officers from the immediate retinue of King Kulasekhara:
223 Kāliṅga-rāyara, Tennavanappalla-rāyara and Āḷavandapperumāḷa[1],
all people hard to vanquish who after equipping their army,
224 came to the place Pātapata by name, their heart full of fury
225 and firmly determined this time to conquer the foe. When
Laṅkāpura heard of the matter he, the expert, sent officers
226 thither with a big army and train. They marched thither,
invested the fortress from all sides, burned down a score of
227 large villages near the stronghold and after making their
report, sent a messenger to Laṅkāpura to ask if they were
228 to take the fortress or not. At such tidings Laṅkāpura once
more sent forth a great army and gave the charge to capture
229 the fortress. When now they received the command sent to
230 them, they began all of them to open a fearful fight. There
raged between the two armies a battle — hardly bearable,
awful, exasperating — like to the raging of the storm at
231 the destruction of the world. Damiḷas thousands in number
they deprived of life, besides that the Tennavanappalla-rāyara
232 from the immediate retinue of the King. When Āḷavandappe-
rumāḷa after receiving a wound, took flight, they slew the
horse he had mounted and seized this and many other steeds,
233 and while they brought joyous laughter to the lotus counte-
nance of the goddess of fortune of heroes, the Sīhalas shatter-
234 ed with a lion's courage the army of the Damiḷas. After
Laṅkāpura had taken possession of Pātapata he later on brought
the troops standing there over to his side.

235 Laṅkāpura betook himself thereupon to Anivalakkikoṭṭa[2]
236 and subdued Mūlava-cakkavattin in Añcukoṭṭa. After he had
in like manner captured Toṇḍi and Pāsa[3], he advanced to
Kurundankuṇḍiya to clear the region lying northwards of the

[1] Kāliṅga above 76.173 note; Āḷavaṇḍapperumāḷa 76.128, 232, Tennavanappalla falls in battle according to v. 231.

[2] Probably the same as above in v. 212, Anivalakkoṭṭa. The place is repeatedly mentioned below v 276 ff. Cf. note to v 238.

[3] The two places must have lain very near together since their names 77.81 are formed into the compound Toṇḍipāsa.

enemy. After he had there subdued Vaḷuṭṭhi-rāyara, he 237
bestowed on him as a gift of favour, a golden bracelet and
the like. Then he marched thence and betook himself to 238
Tirivekambama[1]. Here he subdued Silāmeghara, Kanasiya-
rāyara and Añcukoṭṭa-nāḍāḷvāra[2] and showed them all 239
marks of favour as before (to Vaḷuṭṭhi). Thereupon the great 240
hero whose word was to be trusted[3], sent a message to Puṅ-
koṇḍa-nāḍāḷvāra[4] in order to bring him under his influence.
But when the latter without showing himself, went to 241
Semponmāri, Laṅkāpura betook himself thither in order to
capture Semponmāri. To capture this fortress a Coḷa army 242
had once upon a time marched hither and could not take it
in spite of a four days' fight. This inaccessible stronghold 243
the Sīhalas with their lion-like courage, captured[5] without
allowing more time than half a day to pass. After they had 244
broken through two outerwalls and four gate-towers, they
penetrated like singly marching elephants[6] into the interior
of the fortress, slew there the Damiḷas, many thousands in 245
number, and conquered thus in a moment the stronghold
Semponmāri. Thereupon (came) the troop of the Kallaras, the 246
Maravaras[7], as also the Goḷihaḷas and the Kuntavaras, the army 247
of Vallakkuttāra and the troop of Ūcena, as also the mighty
army in the district of Añcukoṭṭa: these exceeding brave, hot- 248

[1] Is also mentioned in v. 266 and 276 in close connection with Kurundaṅkuṇḍiya or Anivalakki.

[2] Kanasiya is only mentioned here. For the two others see above notes to v. 95 and 99.

[3] P. *saccasaṃdho.* This is specially stressed. Evidently Laṅkāpura had guaranteed Puṅkoṇḍa's safety. Puṅkoṇḍa nevertheless does not risk presenting himself to Laṅkāpura, as he distrusts his promises.

[4] See note to 76. 137.

[5] *Duggaṃ* must be supplemented by the verb *gahesuṃ* from v. 245 c.

[6] W. "one by one like unto so many elephants." I think however, that we must take *paccekahatthino* in the same sense as 72. 248 ("solitary elephants, rogue elephants"). Cf. the note.

[7] Cf. above note to 76. 130. The troops mentioned in v. 246-7 are those belonging to particular tribes or those drawn from the men of certain districts who are capable of bearing arms.

headed forces of the Damilas, numbering some fifty to sixty
249 thousand, surrounded thereupon the fortress occupied by the
Sihalas and opened at once a most embittered fight Then
250 the Lankāpura Deva[1] and the Lankāgiri Sora opened the gate
251 by the southern tower, accompanied by their troops (and)
with a courage scarcely to be surpassed, robbed Damilas thou-
252 sands of them, of their life, shattered with lion-like courage
the unruly Damila army come from that direction hitherward,
253 as lions a herd of elephants From the southern door there
broke forth at this moment the general Gokaṇṇa and the
254 Kesadhātu Loka by name, slew many soldiers of the enemy
on the battlefield and shattered to the last man the hostile
255 forces which remained over from the slaughter. From the
northern tower-gate came the mighty Kesadhātu Kitti and
the officer named Jagadvijaya for which scarce any man was
256 a match The heroes shattered in no time the Damila army
257 after robbing many Damila warriors of their life Thus the
Sihalas destroyed at once in a moment the whole forces of
258 the Damilas, put them to flight, captured many steeds and
found themselves — the victory gained, famous by reason of
many deeds of heroism — again together in the fortress far-
259 famed under the name of Semponmāri Thereupon he subdued[2]
the Kuntavaras, the soldiery of the Kallaras, the army of the
260 Golihalas and the troop of the Maravaras, the army of
Vallakkuttāra and the following of Ūccna, the Athalayūru-
261 nāḍāḷvāra and Kangayara[3] and their shattered army, the
dwellers in Tūlayūrunāḍu, the army in Kalahaynāḍu and the
262 dwellers of Athalayunnāḍu and those of Kākannāḍu[4] all
these Damila forces all that lay (in a line) from the village
263 of Cellūru up to the frontier of the Coḷa region he brought
264 into his power and bestowed on them favours as before. He
accepted the gifts which were brought him by the Vessas and

[1] Already mentioned in 75 130 Cf further 76 310 ff
[2] I anticipate here the finite verb *vasam unesi* occurring in v 263b
[3] For these two names see note to 76 137
[4] The names of districts (*nāḍu*) in v 261, 262 do not occur otherwise.

the Yavanas[1] and distinguished these people also by countless
marks of favour. To Māḷava-cakkavattin who placed himself 265
under his protection he restored Semponmāri and appoint-
ed him to his (former) post. Then he set forth from there 266
and came again to Tirivekambama and starting hence he
reached Kurundaṅkuṇḍi[2].

Now Kaḷavaṇḍi-nāḍāḷvāra had in battle with great forces 267
wrested Muṇḍikkāra[3] from Māḷava-rāyara. Then seeing no 268
other aid, Māḷava-rāyara approached Laṅkāpura: "be thou
my protection". Laṅkāpura at once summoned his best 269
officers, the two Kesadhātus, known to the people as Kitti
and Loka, and the general Gokaṇṇa and charged them as 270
their commander, to open hostilities and restore Muṇḍikkāra
to Māḷava-rāyara. These betook themselves to the spot, began 271
a combat hard to withstand, drove the foe from Muṇḍikkāra,
slew many Damiḷas and after they had placed Māḷava-rāyara 272
once more in his former position, they returned thence to
Laṅkāpura.

Another officer, Puṅkoṇḍa-nāḍāḷvāra[4] by name, betook 273
himself to the place called Siriyavala, fought while there a 274
great battle with Māḷava-cakkavattin, put him to flight and
took the village known by the name of Jayaṅkoṇḍāna and 275
immediately after that Semponmāri itself. When the hero
Laṅkāpura, best of steadfast men, heard of this event, he set 276
forth himself at once from the fortress Anivalakki and ad-
vanced, in order to take Semponmāri, to Tirivekambama[5]. When 277
Puṅkoṇḍa-nāḍāḷvāra learned of this event, he left Semponmāri
and betook himself from there to Siriyavala. Thereupon the hero 278

[1] P. *vessa* = skr. *vaiśya* is the name of the third caste. *Yavana* does not necessarily mean the Greeks (Ionians) but all westerns living in India, more especially those of Arabian origin. See E. R. Ayrton, Ceylon Notes and Queries, I, 1913, p. VIII.

[2] See note to 76. 238.

[3] Cf. 76. 210—211. For Kaḷavaṇḍi note to 76. 137.

[4] See above note to 76. 137.

[5] The continued recurrence of place names previously mentioned (cf. 76. 170; 76. 241, 258; 76. 212, 235; 76. 238, 266) shows again that all these contests were waged within a fairly circumscribed area.

Lankāpura marched to Semponmāri and when now Punkoṇḍa-
279 nāḍālvāra came thither with the intent to surrender, but
without presenting himself, betook himself again to the place
Siriyavala, Lankāpura also marched to the village of Siriyavala
280 and began from all sides an embittered combat. Now Punkoṇḍa-
281 nāḍālvāra sent the following message: "I will submit to thee,
if safety is vouchsafed me, since I am mastered by great fear;
282 if not, I dare not come." At the tidings of this Lankāpura
who was himself free from fear, sent a return message with
283 the purport that he should come At the message of the
hero Lankāpura whose word was to be relied on, the former
284 free of all dread, betook himself to him Thereupon Lankā-
pura bestowed on him many favours, summoned also Māla-
285 va-cakkavattin to him, reconciled the two and after he had
placed them both in their former positions, the great hero
286 betook himself to Neṭṭūru The two villages which had been
laid waste, Rājasihamahāla and Vālugāma by name he rebuilt
287 and after he had dammed up two tanks in Siriyavala and
two tanks also in Perumpalaya, he had the tilling of the fields
taken in hand

288 The Ruler Kulasekhara took the troops in Tirunaveli[1], as
well as the troops of the two brothers of his mother in Ten-
289 kongu and Vaḍakongu[2], and versed in the various expedients
of statecraft, such as the distribution of honours and the like,
he made deserters of many Damiḷas who had already been
290 subdued and began now, equipped with forces to march forth
to battle When the prudent Lankāpura heard trustworthy
291 tidings of this he destroyed the traitorous Damiḷas root and
branch, true to the command of his Lord whose task it was
to subdue the miscreants

292 Thereupon there came sent by the Great king to cover
his rear, the hero Jagadvijaya[3] by name whose courage ex-
293 ceeded that of the whole world, accompanied by many foot

[1] See 76 143 with the note [2] Cf 77 41

[3] As he is already mentioned in v 255 in the struggle for Sempon-
māri, it may be assumed that Lankāpura had sent him to Lanka for
reinforcements.

soldiers and steeds to Anivalakki after crossing the ocean.
The far-famed Laṅkāpura likewise left Neṭṭūru and betook 294
himself to Anivalakki. He sought out the newly-arrived
(Jagadvijaya), embraced him and having conversed with him 295
in heartfelt and friendly manner, the foe-crusher returned to
Neṭṭūru. Setting forth from there, he came, having knowledge 296
of the right places, to the place known by the name of
Mundrannaddhāna and took up far-famed for his courage, his
position there. At the place called Kīḷakoṭṭa and at the place 297
by name Maṅgalama[1] he fought with the Damiḷas, slew many
soldiers, took such foes as one was obliged to seize, alive and 298
captured many horses which had been left on the battlefield.
Then he set forth from there, came to Orittiyūrutombama and 299
endowed with a surplus of invincible courage, he fought with
Puṅkoṇḍa-naḍāḷvāra, Silāmeghara and Añcukoṭṭa-nāḍāḷvāra[2] 300
a great (and) terrible battle. After cutting down many Da- 301
miḷas he betook himself to Siriyavala, burned down the two-
storeyed palace of Puṅkoṇḍa-nāḍāḷvāra who had not submitted 302
to him and marched from the place Tirikkānappera farther.
The general Jagadvijaya now advanced from Anivalakki to 303
Neṭṭūru, set forth from there and shattered, himself un- 304
approachable[3], the fortresses called Madhurammāṇavīra,
Pāttanallūru and Soraṇḍakkoṭṭa. Returned to Neṭṭūru he tarried 305
there and brought the two Aḷattūru-nāḍāḷvāras and Cullakañca-
kuṇḍa-rāyara[4] to submission. When once the hero with great 306
forces came to Pāttanallūru, he sent to Laṅkāpura the follow-
ing message: "Thou must come with greatest haste to the 307
river called Vayiga; I must needs see thee, there is some-
thing to report." When the hero Laṅkāpura received these 308
tidings, he set off with all speed thence and began the march
with large forces. The hostile army which was standing at 309

[1] Cf. below note to 77. 38.

[2] The three named here belonged to those chieftains who having submitted to Laṅkāpura (v. 280 ff., v. 238) had since deserted (v. 289).

[3] Pun on *dugge—duggamo*, the latter referring to the subject. The skr. *durgama* is an epithet of Siva.

[4] See above v. 220 and note.

310 the place called Tirippāluru, saddled its numerous horses, came
hither and halfway began to fight a terrible combat with the
Lankāpura Deva and the other heroes who were present
311 in the battle Thereupon the heroes dispersed the great
army even as the beams of the sun spreading forth (disperse)
312 the mass of the darkness. Thus did Lankāpura whose bravery
was as the fire of the last day, capture in a moment
313 Tirippāḷuru and took up his abode there The officer by name
Jagadvijaya, versed in good counsel, shattered the great army
314 of Damilas dwelling in Pannaṭṭānkoṭṭa, capable of starting a
battle on the battlefield, brought the fortress into his power
and halted there

315 King Kulasekhara in his exceeding fury took Tuvarādhi-
316 pativeḷāra, as well as Toṇḍamānara, Virapperayara and
Nigaya-rāyara, Kalavaṇḍiya-nāḍāḷvāra and the other Kanga-
317 yara[1], made his many soldiers ready for battle and betook
318 himself, his loins girt for battle, to Rājinā The great general
of terrible courage charged his terrible army to give battle
319 to Lankāpura. The hero Lankāpura thereupon, expert in
320 affairs, explained the affair to Jagadvijaya "In order together
with me to put to flight the Monarch Kulasekhara, thou must
so as to attack from the one side, make thy troops ready for
321 battle and come hither with all haste" After he had sent
him a message of such purport and had at the same time
322 equipped his own strong army, he set forth from there and
fought a great battle with the Damiḷas. They were van-
323 quished, withdrew at once to Rajinā, closed the tower-gates
with the small and the great gates and the Damiḷas
now with their Monarch kept to the centre of the town.
324 Thereupon the heroes at the head, the general Gokaṇṇa, the
325 Kesadhātu named Loka and the Lankāpura Deva, who had
arrived at the west gate, began to tear down the walls and
326 to blow up the tower-gates The Lankāpura Deva and the
general Gokaṇṇa after shattering walls and tower-gates, pene-

[1] Nigaya is mentioned again in the sequel (77 69). As regards the other names see note to 76. 137

trated within. But the haughty Kesadhātu, the mighty Loka 327
by name, thought: by the way the others went I go not;
he slew numbers of heroic warriors, brought down many steeds, 328
blew up the southern gate and at once penetrated within.
Thereupon Kulasekhara fled, his heart overwhelmed with fear, 329
no longer even master of the clothes he wore, by the postern
of the eastern tower-gate[1] which he had half opened, and 330
by a lucky chance he escaped out of the hands of his foes.
These all cut down numbers of soldiers of the Damiḷas, took 331
away many horses and much treasure of many a kind, and 332
shaking their garments, dancing around, clapping their hands
and rejoicing, they celebrated the festival of victory. There- 333
upon Laṅkāpura and the general Jagadvijaya entered Rajina
along with the other heroes.

Thus thrives ever more and more the state of those who 334
have done good, who are endowed with a keen understanding,
who understand statecraft and moral discipline, whose riches
are their terrible majesty, whose manliness fails not, even as
the moon in the light half of the month increases from day
to day.

Here ends the seventy-sixth chapter, called "Account of the Capture of the Town of Rajina", in the Mahāvaṃsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

[1] The loc. *gopure* stands for the gen. *gopurassa*; [illegible] means the same as *pacinagopuradvāraṃ*.

CHAPTER LXXVII

THE CONQUEST OF THE PAṆḌU KINGDOM

1 The Monarch Kulasekhara who had fled thence through fear
found again a firm footing in Toṇḍamāna's[1] mountain fortress
2 The forces of Vīranukkara and other (soldiers) from Kakkoḷa,
3 the forces of Madhuraddhamakkāra[2] came to Rajinā, related
the whole story of King Kulasekhara and persuaded Lankā-
4 pura to betake himself at once to Madhurā Thereupon Lankā-
pura and the general Jagadvijaya equipped with great luck,
5 set forth for the town of Madhurā, gave over to the Prince
Vīrapaṇḍu the dwelling of his royal father, which was his
6 birthplace, and took up their abode in the town They had
summoned to them the three Vīrapperayaras. him called
Sirivallabha, Rājā Nārāyaṇa, and him called Parakkamapaṇḍu,
7 (further) the officer Maṇṇaya-rāyara and Senkuṇḍi-rāyara, the
8 other Vīrapperayara Keraḷasihamuttara[3] and bestowed on them
ornaments and the like To Coḷagangara who had submitted,
9 they made over the supreme direction of the district Parittī-
kkuṇḍi[4] formerly administered by him, and restored him to his
10 former position Kalavaṇḍiya-nāḍalvāra[5] came indeed with the
intention of submitting[6], but when he had entered Madhurā,

[1] *Cf* above 76. 137

[2] Evidently local troops which had voluntarily submitted to the victor

[3] Vīrapperayara is clearly a title here Cf 76 138 and 316. Of the other names Maṇṇaya is mentioned 76. 141, 77 35, Seṅkuṇḍi 76. 138 (q v.) and Keraḷasīhamuttara 76. 141

[4] Coḷagaṅga(ra) is mentioned 76. 124 The place name Parittikkuṇḍi is met with in Parittikkuṇḍiyāra 76. 137 and 221

[5] See 76. 141

[6] P· *case hessam as or recta.* *Cf* a similar phrase 75. 85.

25 Now the Monarch (Parakkamabāhu) whose commands stand firm, sent the order to hold the festival of the coronation for
26 Prince Vīrapaṇḍu. When Laṅkāpura heard of this command of the King's which could not be gainsaid, he set about mak-
27 ing the preparations for the consecration. He then charged the
28 Lambakaṇṇas Māḷava-cakkavattin, Māḷava-rāyara and Athalayūru-nāḍāḷvāra to carry out the duties of the Lambakaṇṇas[1], had then as one whose commands are scarcely to be evaded,
29 the drums beaten in the kingdom and gathered together all the officers in the Paṇḍu realm at the head of their own
30 troops and adorned with all their ornaments. Then in a temple of the deities to the north of the palace of former kings,
31 adorned with the drums of victory captured aforetime, the highly-famed one carried out the consecration of the Prince and made him in accord with tradition, walk round the town, his right side turned towards it

32 Meanwhile the Ruler Kulasekhara who had fled to the mountain fortress of Toṇḍamāna, had brought Toṇḍamāna
33 round to his side. He took his army as well as his own troops, and together with Anujīvisamiddha, a man of terrible
34 courage, he set forth from that hill fortress and reached the important stronghold called Mangalama into which he entered.
35 With Maṇṇaya-rāyara and Seṅkuṇḍiya-rāyara who had sub-
36 mitted to the Sihalas[2] he fought a great battle; he captured their fortress and took up a position there. When Laṅkāpura heard of the matter and how it had happened, he thought:
37 "Only when I shall have driven the hostile Ruler from this

(v 24) *viro* is the subject and *āgañchi* the finite verb. The gerunds occurring in vv 21—23 have as subject *senā Sihaḷādhinā*. They are thus again treated as absolute locatives Cūlavs. ed I. Introd., p XVI.

[1] We learn two things from this passage: that a Lambakaṇṇa clan existed also in Southern India and that the members of this clan performed particular functions at the festival of the king's consecration For the three names see notes to 76. 132 and 137.

[2] Thus according to 77.7 It must be assumed that the Toṇḍamāna named in v. 32 who figures in 76 315 as one of Kulasekhara's followers, had submitted to the Sihaḷas but under Kulasekhara's influence had again deserted them

place and cleansed this district so rich in mountain and forest
strongholds shall I return." He left the town of Madhurā, 38
put up a stronghold near Maṅgalaṃkoṭṭa[1] and took up his
position there. With mighty forces they fought a great battle 39
with the three brothers of the wife of Toṇḍamāna: Kallakka- 40
veḷāra, Muṇayadha-rāyara and Kāliṅga-rāyara[2], captured the 41
fortress, slew many Damiḷas and after later on taking Sīvali-
puttūru also the highly-famed ones[3] took up a position there. 42
Thereupon the hostile Monarch Kulasekhara gathered together
the troops standing in Tiriṇaveli[4], sent also to the two brothers 43
of his mother a message and took the troops in Tenkoṅgu
and Vaḍakoṅgu[5] and after the great general had brought 44
this whole army together, he gave the order to halt at the
fortress called Sāntaneri. Now Laṅkāpura and the general 45
Jagadvijaya immediately set forth on the way to take this strong-
hold. To bar the way to the enemy Kulasekhara versed in the 46
right expedients, had the great tank pierced. When the hero 47
Laṅkāpura heard tidings of this he said: "When one goes forth
to fight a decisive battle with the foe the sight of a pierced 48
tank on the way is not good." So the mighty one immediately
had it dammed up again. Thereupon he advanced with great 49
forces and courage against yonder strong fortress, fought a
bitter fight, broke quickly into it, slew him called Kallakka- 50
veḷāra and many other Damiḷas and captured numbers of horses
of the Damiḷas. Then they pressed forward into the two vil- 51
lages belonging to Toṇḍamāna, called Tirimalakke and Kattala,
burned down the village called Tirimalakke so that nought 52

[1] Of course the same as the fortress Maṅgalama mentioned in v. 34, and which also occurs in 76. 297.

[2] For the two last names cf. 76. 146 and 76. 174 ff. The first occurs again 77. 50.

[3] Instead of the sing. (*Laṅkāpuro* v. 36 c) the new sentence (from v. 39 a b) has the plur. What is meant are Laṇkāpura and his generals. Sīvaliputtūru is the present Srivillipatur (cf. also W.) in the Tinnevelli District not far from the borders of Travancore.

[4] See 76. 143 and 288 and notes.

[5] See 76. 288.

but its name remained, because it was there that the Paṇḍu
53 king Parakkama had been murdered[1] Then he set forth from
there and after reaching the village Colakulantaka the highly-
54 famed one tarried there for some time[2] King Kulasekhara
now took the two brothers of his mother, also the troops of
55 the twain and their many horses, further Akalanka-nāḍālvāra,
56 and Pallava-rāyara, Malayappa-rāyara, Kaṇḍamba-rāyara and
Kiccārattarayara who was endowed with great power and
courage, and with all these Cola officers and their numerous
57 army as also with Kalavaṇḍiya-nāḍālvāra and his troops and
58 with Punkoṇḍa-nāḍalvāra[3] at the head of his army, the mighty
one came himself to the place called Palankoṭṭa and ordered
59 his great army to Paṇḍunāḍukoṭṭāna and the place called
Ūriyeri[4], this time firmly determined on the vanquishing of
60 the foe Thereupon Lankāpura and the general Jagadvijaya
61 went forth from the village of Colakulantaka to battle They
so planned it that the hostile army which had occupied the two
great fortresses[5], were disinclined for giving battle in the open
62 field, had then a great entrenchment made at the village of
Uriyeri above the tank and took up a position there during
63 the night But the hostile army which had occupied the two
fortresses, dispersed and went thither where the Ruler Ku-

[1] W a happy suggestion of *ettha hato* is certainly correct. I may remark that all the MSS have *etthā gato*, *etthāgato* as read by the Col Ed occurs nowhere

[2] There is a change again in number, this time from the plur (*pa vitthā*) in v 51 c to the sing (*nisī ittha*) in 53 c

[3] For Akalanka see 77 17, for Malayappa 77 18 for Kalavaṇḍiya 76 141 and Punkoṇḍa 76 139 All these names occur again later The same with Pallava and Kaṇḍamba who have so far not been mentioned

[4] The locatives *Pandunādukottāne* and *Uriyerirhaye ṭhāne* are directly dependent on *niyyojesi* The skr *niyojayati* is also used with the locative of that to which anyone is determined or commanded In 72. 207 we have the same as in this passage *Kydnayāme niyojesi* Cf further 77 82. It is therefore quite unnecessary to change *ṭhāne* into *thānam* as is done by the Col Fd — Palaṅkoṭṭa (see also W) is the present Palamkotta in the Tinnevelli District.

[5] That is Paṇḍunāḍukoṭṭana and Uriyeri.

lasekhara was standing. Now Laṅkāpura and the general 64
Jagadvijaya well discriminating between favorable and unfavorable places, marched to Palaṅkoṭṭa. The heroes fought 65
a terrible battle with the hostile sovereign, slew many warriors
captured many steeds, put the Monarch Kulasekhara at once 66
to flight and took Palaṅkoṭṭa. Then they set forth from there,
came into the domain of him called Tuvarādhipativeḷāra and 67
received the horses and elephants supplied by him[1]. But when 68
they heard: the Monarch Kulasekhara has come to Madhurā[2],
they in order to drive him from this place, hereupon marched 69
to Adharaṭṭeri, subdued there Nigaya-rāyara and showed him
many marks of favour. Now when they again set forth from 70
this place the Ruler Kulasekhara smitten with fear, betook
himself to the Coḷa country. Hereupon Laṅkāpura charged 71
the dignitary by name Jagadvijaya, to take up a position at
the place called Pāttanallūru. He himself went at the head 72
of his troops to Tirikkānappera. But King Kulasekhara had
meanwhile by various entreaties won over the Coḷa King to 73
his side and at the command of this king he took the army
and the many horses of him called Pallava-rāyara, also 74
him called Inandapada together with Toṇḍamāna, the rāyara
called Rājarājakalappa, further Kaṅgakoṇḍakalappa-rāyara, as 75
well as the Nakāranibiḷupa-rāyara, the hero Niccavinodavāṇava- 76
rāyara, Narasīhapadmara and Sekīrapadma-rāyara, Rājinda- 77
brahmamahārāja and Mādhava-rāyara . . . as also Coḷakonāra,
Janābrahmamahārāja and Coḷatirikka-rāyara — these troop 78
leaders in Uccaṅkuṭṭha he took with him, with these he took also 79
Niyarāya and Kappiñcimpekūla, further Mādhava-rāyara and
Kaṇḍuveṭṭi, further Koṅgamaṅgala-nāḍāḷvāra, Akalaṅka-nāḍāḷ- 80
vāra and Kaṇḍamba-rāyara, as also Kiḷamaṅgala-nāḍāḷvāra,
Visālamutta-rāyara[3] and their many horses and sent them to 81

[1] The context shows that Tuvarādhipativeḷāra (for whom see 76. 138, 315) had submitted voluntarily.

[2] The fact that Kulasekhara can dare to attack Madhurā which was formerly (see v. 38) in Laṅkāpura's hands, shows that so far he had suffered no overwhelming defeat. He even succeeds in enlisting the Coḷas in his cause.

[3] Of the numerous names mentioned here six occur earlier: Pallava

82 Toṇḍi and Pāsa[1] When Laṅkāpura heard of the matter he
was minded to so destroy them that only their name should
remain The hero ordered the general Jagadvijaya by name
to Madhurā he himself then set forth from Tirikkānappera
83 and marched to the town of Kilenilaya situated on the borders
of Madhurā Now the mighty Cola army opened the great
84 combat For a distance of four gāvutas[2] he filled the road
with corpses, he also slew many soldiers who had flung them-
85 selves into the sea and dyed the water of the ocean ruddy
with the blood of the foe[3] He took (as booty) many horses
86 and captured many Damilas alive — Rājindabrahmamahārāja and
Nandipadmara[4], Narasihapadmara and Colakonāra — and again
87 with great forces, burned to the ground Vaḍamaṇamekkuṇḍi,
88 Maṇamekkuṇḍi and Mancakkuṇḍi Then having laid waste by
fire a strip of the Cola country seven gāvutas in extent[5] and
89 thus quelled the Colas he returned thence, and when he came
to the village called Velaṅkuṇḍi under the dominion of
Nigaladha-rāyara[6], he sent to him the message to appear
90 before him But as Nigaladha-rāyara was at that time under
the sovereignty of King Kulasekhara he took the Monarch
91 Kulasekhara, as well as Silāmeghara, and Akalaṅka-nāḍāḷvāra
and Kaṇḍamba-rāyara, Malayappa-rāyara and Visālamutta-

77 55 Toṇḍamāna 76 137 Niccavinodavaṇara 76 144 Colakonāra 76.145 Akalaṅka 77 17 Kaṇḍamba 77 55 Cf the accompanying notes The name Madhava rayara is twice mentioned Three occur later Narasiha padmara 77 86 Rajindabrahma 77 86 and Visalamutta 77 91 Cf with Kaṅgakoṇḍakalappa Kaṅgakoṇḍapperayara 76 180 note with Kīḷa maṅgala naḍāḷvara the name of the district Kiḷemaṅgala in 76. 209 and with Kaṇḍuveṭṭi the name of Narasiha s capital Kaṇḍuveṭhi in 47 7

[1] P *Tonḍi* ʼsam Cf note to 76 236

[2] About 8 miles

[3] The description is extraordinary From what has gone before the battle must have taken place in the neighbourhood of Madhura there fore not near the sea.

[4] Nandipadmara is not mentioned in the list given in v 73 ff

[5] About 14 miles

[6] For Nigaladha cf 76. 138 77 16 f

rāyara, Kaḷavaṇḍi-nāḍāḷvāra and the troops of Tiriṇaveli, and 92
Puṅkoṇḍa-nāḍāḷvāra, and with mighty forces he came to
Ponaamarāvatī[1] to fight a decisive battle. When Laṅkāpura 93
received tidings of these events he set forth with great forces
from Velaṅkuṇḍi to vanquish the hostile ruler. The hostile 94
army which advancing from five sides[2], began the battle he
shattered in a moment with fearsome courage, slew Damiḷas 95
thousands in number, took (as booty) many horses and put the
Ruler Kulasekhara to flight. Nigaḷadha-rāyara thereupon sent 96
in his terror the message: "Thou shalt have the whole of
my treasures and my many horses, and shalt pardon my of- 97
fence, but thou must by no means prepare my destruction[3]."
When Laṅkāpura heard that he sent a return message: "Thy 98
treasures and thy horses are of no use to me, fear not and 99
come in person and present thyself". When he heard that,
he came to seek out Laṅkāpura. When the latter saw him 100
he showed him favour, assigned him the province and gave
him abundant money with which to rebuild his palace which
had been burned down. Then the far-famed one started forth, 101
came to Niyama and freed the whole province from the briers
(of the enemy). He introduced into the country everywhere 102
for trade kahāpaṇas which were stamped with the name of
the Ruler Parakkama. To Prince Vīrapaṇḍu he made over 103

[1] According to 77. 20 ff., Laṅkāpura had already fought with Nigaḷadha for Ponaamarāvatī. In the list enumerated in v. 73 ff. the following of Nigaḷadha's allies are n o t mentioned: Silāmeghara (cf. note to 76. 99), Malayappa (77. 18, 55), Kaḷavaṇḍi (76. 141) and Puṅkoṇḍa (76. 139). For Tiriṇaveli see 76. 143. — Vv. 84—92 form in the original one sentence. The subject however, changes. The subject belonging to all the gerunds in 84-89 (up to *pahinitvāna*) is *Laṅkāpuro*, from v. 90 onwards it is *so* (*Nigaḷadha-rāyaro*). We must therefore again assume that the preceding gerunds are treated as locative absolutes (Cūlavs. ed. I. Introd., p. XVI) S. and B. try to overcome the difficulty by emendation, they change *pahinitvāna* (v. 89 c) into *pahinittha*.

[2] W. refers *āgamma* to the subject (*Laṅkāpuro*) *bhīmavikkamo* but it is really subordinate to *pavattita* in *pavattitamahāhavaṃ sattusenaṃ*.

[3] The text is corrupt. I have tried to help matters by a conjectural rendering (*vināsanaṃ*) which seems to me not quite so far-fetched as the emendations of the Col. Ed.

the government and sent with speed to Sihala the many
horses, men and elephants captured from the Cola country
and from the Paṇḍu land[1]
104 Now King Parakkamabāhu that lion among royal princes,
founded in memory of the conquest of the Paṇḍu country the
105 splendid village Paṇḍuvijaya by name, which prospered through
all time But to the Brahmans he whose joy was in giving,
gave an alms
106 Parakkamabahu, the first in the race of rulers of the earth,
whose mind was endowed with discrimination between what
was statesmanlike and what was unstatesmanlike, who was
an abode of every virtue, gifted with the gracious beauty of
the god of love ruled a long time alone over the ocean-
bounded earth

Here ends the seventy-seventh chapter, called "The Conquest of the Paṇḍu Kingdom", in the Mahāvaṃsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious

[1] The narrative ends abruptly One is faced by a series of questions which remain unanswered What becomes of Kulasekhara? What of the great coalition of South Indian princes Colas and Paṇḍus described in v 72 of whom at the most only a few individuals were conquered? Does Vīrapaṇḍu succeed in maintaining his power? Since Kulasekhara did not fall in battle he will scarcely have left his rival in peace What is Laṅkapura's after fate? It is curious that his return to Ceylon is never mentioned and that there is no word of the distinctions bestowed on him by Parakkamabahu It is pretty clear that the chronicler has concealed the failure which overtook the expedition after its initial success The ideal figure of Parakkama which he has in mind must not be dimmed by association with any misfortune South Indian inscriptions relate that Laṅkāpura was defeated and that his head with those of his officers was nailed to the gates of Madhurā. In the 4th year of Kulottuṅga Coḷa III (1181 2) Vīrapaṇḍu was driven out and the Sinhalese troops finally defeated H W Codrington HC., p 62. See also note to 76 80

CHAPTER LXXVIII

THE BUILDING OF VIHĀRAS

Now after the sovereign of Laṅkā, Parakkamabāhu who 1
had received consecration as king, who was experienced in
statecraft, had thus made peaceful the land of Laṅkā, he 2
cherished, full of zeal, the wish to further the advancement
of the Order of the Master for which he had striven when
attaining the royal dignity, since it was a most excellent
merit. Since he perceived that the few loyal bhikkhus — apart 3
from the maintenance of wives and children and so forth by
the community in the villages belonging to the community, in 4
which they saw their sole duty, beyond which there was
none — did not wish to have ceremonies in common, nor even to
see one another[1], he desired even before the purification of 5

[1] The sentence is difficult. I think the meaning is this that the attitude of the few loyal bhikkhus *(susīle keci bhikkhavo)* who would not hear of intercourse and of common action with the others, shows the evil conditions existing in the Saṃgha. The *dussīlā bhikkhavo* were in the majority, the *susīlā* were isolated. As regards the construction of the sentence, I believe that *puttadārādiposanaṃ* is governed by *thapetvā* (4 a) and *ekakammādiṃ dassanaṃ pi* by *n'ākaṅkhante*. By *saṃghagāma* are meant the villages in which the men were active as *ārāmikā*. Wives and children of the *ārāmikā* were supported by the monastery and this was the only duty from which the *susīlā bhikkhavo* did not absolve themselves and the one which brought them into contact with the others. W's version according to which the priests had only thought of the feeding of their (former) wives and children I consider impossible. The text reads: *saṃghassa puttadārādiposanaṃ*. But one cannot say that the Saṃgha has children and wives. Only the individual bhikkhu has these. Thus the gen. *saṃghassa* does not belong to *puttadārādi* but to *posanaṃ*. Note too the *ādi*. This refers to sick

the Order[1], for the purpose of furthering the Order of the Victor, to achieve unity[2] among the bhikkhus of the three
6 fraternities Even as the Ruler of men Dhammāsoka (with) Moggaliputtatissa, so he entrusted the Grand thera Mahā-
7 kassapa by name, with the task — an experienced man who knew the Tipitaka and was exceedingly well versed in the Vinaya, a light of the race of theras, conciliatory, long since
8 consecrated He made the thera Ñāṇapāla in Anurādhapura together with his pupils and the bhikkhus in the province
9 of Sapara[3] come to Pulatthinagara, further together with the thera Moggallāna, the thera Nāgindapalliya and all the other
10 bhikkhus in the province of the Yuvarāja[4], as well as those belonging to the three fraternities in Rohaṇa after he had placed at their head the distinguished thera Nanda who dwelt

people and those incapable of work who must of course also be looked after in the *saṃghagāra* of the monastery

[1] P *ado* is used as a preposition and governs the following accusative

[2] An account of the church reforms of Parakkamabāhu is found already in 73 12 22 *That this should be followed by a second detailed* account is probably due to the fact that the compiler of the Cūlavaṃsa had two different sources both of which he employed for his narrative In a similar way the building activities of the king are dealt with twice over (in 73 23 ff and 78 28 ff) As regards the reform of the Order I have already referred in the note to 73 22 to the Gal vihāra inscription of Parakkama and to certain similarities in form between it and the account of the Cūlavs A further similarity occurs in the second narrative (78 2 ff) The name of the Grand thera Mahakassapa is mentioned as spokesman in the negotiations in which capacity he is also mentioned in the inscription Then too in both sources a parallel is drawn between king Dhammasoka and the head of the Third Council Moggallana (Mhvs 5 228 ff) on the one hand and Parakkamabahu and Mahakassapa on the other According to the inscription Mahākassapa was an inmate of the Udumbaragiri vihara that is Dimbulagala now Gunner's Quoin Hill on the right bank of the Mahaveliganga about 5 miles SSE. of Malagantota near Polonnaruva Cf Wickremasinghe EZ II 184 ff the same Catal of Sinhalese Mss in the Brit Museum p. XV

[3] Apparently the present province of Sabaragamuva.

[4] That is in Dakkhiṇadesa. The bhikkhus mentioned in vv 8 10 are not named in the inscription

in the Selantara monastery. Hereupon the Ruler sent a summons 11
to the bhikkhus dwelling in the Mahāvihāra for (bringing
about) the mutual concord.

Since the shamelessness had passed all bounds and the 12
schism had lasted a long time, many bhikkhus would hear
nothing of conciliation. Many began departing to foreign lands, 13
others left the Order, some wished for a sitting in the secret
court of justice[1]. Hereupon one approached the great (and) 14
exceedingly difficult task: conciliation seemed as difficult as
the hurling of the Sineru[2] mountain. But the Ruler, impartial, 15
firm in his resolves and just, encouraged the bhikkhus and
with great pains persuaded them to agree. He had the single 16
points in dispute as they arose settled by the bhikkhus among
whom Mahākassapa was the oldest. He was himself present 17
as protector of the court together with those lions among
teachers who knew the three Piṭakas, and while according to 18
precept he led those bhikkhus capable of being cured to puri-
fication, he established harmony among the bhikkhus of the
Mahāvihāra. But the undisciplined he excluded from the Order, 19
and that they might not by striving after gain do harm to
the Order, he assigned them lucrative positions. After he had 20
thus with great pains purified the Mahāvihāra, he set about
bringing the bhikkhus of the Abhayagiri — who since the 21
time of Abhaya[3] had formed a separate group — as well as

[1] I have kept as much as possible to the reading of the MSS. and believe that *līnavinicchayamaṇḍala* denotes a secret judicial process in contrast to the official *dhammakamma* of the Order (see note to 39. 57). For the meaning "hidden, concealed" for *līna* cf. Mhvs. 75. 153 where however, it is combined with a loc., as well as *līnavuttika*, 47. 3, "leading a solitary, hidden life". The Col Ed. reads *icchum eke nisajjam pi na vinicchayamaṇḍale* and W. translates accordingly: "and many wished not even to sit (with their brethren) in the hall of judgement".

[2] Cf. note to 54. 43. One may compare *sinerukkhipanaṃ* with *sakkharākhipana* "the hurling of stones" (as an accomplishment, *sippa*, JaCo. I. 418[30]).

[3] Vaṭṭagāmaṇī Abhaya. The story of the separation of the monks of the Abhayagiri-vihāra from those of the Mahāvihāra is related in Mhvs. 33. 95 ff.

the inmates of the Jetavana — who had separated themselves
22 from the days of the Ruler of men Mahāsena[1], (they) who
gave out as Buddha's word the Vetulla-Piṭaka[2] and the like
which were no words of Buddha and who had turned away
23 from religious duties — into concord with the inmates of the
Mahāvihāra who were rich in all virtues, even as glass stones
24 with jewels. But as they lacked inward virtue as moral
dicipline and the like, they came even through the influence
of the Great community and of the King to no joyful ac-
25 ceptance of the Buddha teaching. And while the just King
together with people versed in the right method held the
trial, he found not a single member of the Order that had
26 kept himself unspoiled[3]. He caused many ascetics to be received
as sāmaṇeras, the undisciplined he dismissed and gave them
27 lucrative positions. While thus within a short time achieving
purification and unity, he with great pains established again
the community as it had been in Buddha's time.

28 Every year he brought the Great community to the river
bank[4], made them take up their abode in a garden there
29 while he with his dignitaries paid them respect. Then after
firmly anchoring ships in the stream he had a charming
30 maṇḍapa of beautiful proportions erected on them. Then
when he had given to the bhikkhus costly robes and all
kinds of articles of use, the wise Prince made them hold the
ceremony of admission into the Order[5].

[1] See Mhvs. 37. 32 ff.

[2] For the heretical Vetullavāda to which the Dhammarucika monks living in the Abhayagiri monastery adhered, see Mhvs. 36. 41, 110 ff. and 37. 1 ff; Nik. s., p. 12. A. M. Hocart, Mem. ASC. I, 1924, p. 15 ff.

[3] P. *pakatatta*, lit. "with the original self (being, character)". In Vin I. 280[13] the word means "in the original condition, restored, cured"; In JāCo. I. 236[27] it has a similar meaning to that in our passage as attribute of *bhikkhu* along with *sīlavā vipassanāya yuttapayutto*.

[4] On the bank of the Mahaveliganga.

[5] Even to-day the monks in Ceylon in order to be quite undisturbed are fond of performing their rites in a pavilion built on piles in a sheet of water about a stone's throw from the bank.

41 of lions, kinnaras[1], geese and the like, with many diversely perforated balustrades[2] and with railings (Further he built) a beautiful round temple wholly of stone for the Tooth Relic[3], adorned with glorious pillars, staircases and outer walls[4] and
42 so forth (Further the built) three sermon halls, a cetiya[5],
43 eight long cloisters and a refectory of (great) length and breadth, eighty-five fire-houses covered with bricks and one hundred and seventy eight privies

t patima Mr Paranavitane the epigraphist of the ASC (letter of 25 4 28) assumes that the term means the same as *tribhanga* This is the name given in Indian Iconography to a statue with three bends, that is in the posture in which Viṣṇu or the Nagas are often represented He refers to Selalihinisandesa 68 where there is a mention of Tivaṅka images in the Kelani vihara and believes that this passage in the Mhvs refers to these very statues in Kelaniya It cannot be a Buddha image which is meant in this case It seems to me certain that the *tivaṅkaghara* of our passage refers to a building in Pulatthinagara and in the Jetavana vihara But cf note to 85 66 The most likely seems to be the Heṭa dage an image house on the Quadrangle with three Buddha figures (cf Hocart I I p 5) or that building known as the Thūparama also situated there The first seems however to be a work of Nissanka Malla (80 19 and note) while the other belongs to the time before Parakkamabahu The expression *tivaṅka* remains however in both cases inexplicable

[1] Mythical beings represented with human bodies and heads of horses. I may remark that W joins v 40 to the following as description of the *dāthādhātughara*

[2] P *jālakavāṭa* lit. net-enclosure

[3] Without doubt the Vaṭa da ge situated on the Quadrangle opposite the Heṭa da-ge Bell, I I p 21 ff and Rep ASC 1901 p 5 ff Hocart I I p 4 It is a circular building consisting of two concentric terraces. On the upper terrace was a cetiya in which the relic was preserved. In an inscription on the outer stairs Nissanka Malla boasts that he has had the building made It is however evidently a case of restoration The outer staircase is indeed of later origin

[4] I take *bhitti* outer wall to mean the railings leading round the terraces.

[5] There is no stūpa in the domain of the Jetavana. One must assume therefore that the terraced tower Sat mahal pasada on the Quadrangle was built as a cetiya. It could not serve as a dwelling for it is as massive as a dagoba with nothing but a tunnel like circular passage in the basement.

After he had thus by cleansing the Order, cleansed the 44
inward impurity of the bhikkhus, in order to cleanse the
outward impurity, that one might be able to bathe in
great heat he had eight bath-houses of stone erected, named 45
Vaṭṭanahānakoṭṭha, Guhānahānakoṭṭha, Padumanahānakoṭṭha,
Bhaddanahānakoṭṭha[1] and so forth, adorned with pillars, 46
staircases and railings. There also the Great king had many
walls built. Thus there were in Jetavana in all five hundred 47
and twenty buildings. With the distribution of abundant
articles of use, he made the community take up its abode there.

Further the Prince had built there the Āḷāhana-pariveṇa[2] 48
which had all the distinguishing marks (belonging to such a
building), being not too far away and the like, and which
was universally acknowledged as beautiful. There he built for 49
the thera a splendid pāsāda with rooms and terraces, with a
choice of various apartments, embellished by turrets, three
storeys high. Further forty long pāsādas and as many privies, 50
eight small pāsādas and six gate-towers, thirty-four fire-houses 51
and two larger outer walls, the Subhaddā-cetiya and the
Rūpavatī-cetiya[3]; besides that a charming image house of five 52
storeys for which — as it was adorned with ornaments of
flowers and creepers and with figures of gods and Brahmas 53
and embellished with buildings, with turrets, grottoes, apartments

[1] The "round bathing-house", "cave-", "lotus-b.-h." and the "bathing-house of happiness". The temple on the Quadrangle popularly known as the Thūpārāma is not mentioned among the buildings of the Jetavana, probably because it already belonged to the time before Parakkamabāhu. HOCART, l. l., p. 5.

[2] H. W. CODRINGTON is certainly right when he says that the description in the Mhvs. proceeds from south to north. In chap. 73 the secular buildings in the citadel and its immediate neighbourhood are mentioned. In chap. 78 follow the monastic foundations joining it on the north. The Āḷāhana-pariveṇa is therefore probably the group of buildings lying outside of the city which is now popularly but wrongly called the Jetavanārāma.

[3] To the group of buildings which we assume formed the Āḷāhana-pariveṇa there belonged in fact several stūpas. The largest of these is popularly known as the Kiri-vehera. More to south lies the Rankot Dagoba. This has, however, nothing to do with the Āḷāhana-pariveṇa,

54 and halls[1] — the name of Lankātilaka was befitting[2]. In this (temple) he had erected a standing image which was an elixir for the eyes[3], which had the size of the living Buddha[4],
55 which (likewise) was called Lankātilaka. (He) also (built) the twelve-storeyed Uposatha-house which bore the name of Baddhasīmāpāsāda, which was furnished with numbers of
56 turrets, with buildings containing apartments and halls and with cells as dwelling-places[5]. To determine the boundary[6]

but is identical with the Ratanāvalī-cetiya built or completed by Nissaṅka Malla (80 20) The Mhvs. expressly states that this King adorned it with a *suvaṇṇatthupika*, "with a golden pointed cone". The name Rankot means "golden point".

[1] The buildings form the immediate surroundings of the temple enriching its beauty

[2] The name still sticks to the image house of the Āḷāhana group. It is proved besides by an inscription on the building itself in which Parakkamabāhu is named as its builder. See H. C. P. Bell, Rep. ASC. 1910—11 (= X 1914), p 30 ff Lately an exact description of the plan of the building has been given by A M Hocart, Mem. ASC. II, 1926, p 11 ff This plan agrees on the whole with that of the Thūpārāma (see above note to v 45) As regards the name of the temple, *tilaka* means "a patch of coloured stuffs worn on the forehead as ornament... or as emblem of a sect" (BR.), at the end of a compound it means "ornament of something", here therefore "ornament of the Island of Lankā" — The construction of the sentence is as follows. *yattha* in v. 53a stands for the loc *yamhi* (*patimāgehe*) and to this then belong the locatives °*rupini* and *sobhite* in v. 52.

[3] See above note to v. 39.

[4] According to Bell's calculation (l l, p 36) the statue in the Lankātilaka temple when intact, measured 41 ft. in height (roughly 12 5 m)

[5] It is generally supposed that the remains of this building are to be found in the so-called "priory" situated in the domain of Āḷāhanapariveṇa and remarkable for its quantity of small and narrow cells (*pañjaraṭṭha* "cage"!) Cf H C P Bell, Rep ASC. 1911—12 (= III. 1915), p. 81 ff

[6] P *bandhāpetuṃ tahiṃ sīmaṃ*. By *sīmā* is meant the boundary line enclosing the monastic buildings within which alone ecclesiastical acts could legally be performed The regulations for establishing such a *sīmā* are to be found in the Vinaya, Mahāvagga 2. 6 ff. (= I. 106 ff.). Cf. with our passage Mhvs 15. 183—194, where it is related of King

there the King betook himself, adorned with all his ornaments,
with the dignitaries and the ladies of the court, with a vast 57
army and with his train in the splendour of the King of
the gods, to the great vihāra. At the invitation of the
Great community of whom Mahākassapa was the oldest, the 58
Monarch — with the tune of songs of praise, with the sound of
musical instruments and the noise of the shouts of greeting
filling the four regions of the heavens, surrounded by many
people bearing golden and other jars and baskets and many 59
banners and umbrellas — took with great solemnity the golden 60
plough before which was harnessed the elephant of state and
went forth ploughing the furrow[1]. To remove[2] all scruples 61
regarding landmarks formerly drawn at this spot, the bhikkhu
community took up a position at different points, after pre- 62
viously by a solemn act, bound to bring full success, removing
in due order the ancient landmarks[3] and made known to the
King the landmarks along the furrow (which he ploughed).
The King drew three partial boundaries and a main boundary. 63
The boundary stones set up in the eight regions of the
heavens, east and so forth, were distant (measured) with a
staff five cubits in length[4] from the Laṅkātilaka temple forty- 64

Devānampiyatissa how he draws in person the *sīmā* of the Mahāvihāra, just as Parakkamabāhu that of the Āḷāhana-pariveṇa. The two desciptions have a considerable resemblance to each other even in the wording (cf. 78. 56-7 with 15. 189; 78. 58 with App. B, v. 6 of my edition of the old Mahāvaṃsa). This may be due either to the stereotyped character of all these descriptions or to Dhammakitti's conscious borrowing from the older work.

[1] Cf. *mahāchaṇamhi vattente ... kasanto bhūmipo agā* with *mahatā chaṇapūjāya kasanto bhūmipo agā* in Mhvs. App. B. (to 15. 191), v. 7 c d. This comparison shows that *mahāchaṇamhi* not *mahājanamhi*, is the right reading.

[2] It was strictly forbidden to encroach on an existing boundary by a new *sīmā*. The old boundary had first to be removed by a *kammavācā* (v. 62 d), that is a solemn act of the community. Cf. note to 37. 56.

[3] I think that the two lines of v. 62 should be reversed.

[4] P. *pañcahatthāya yaṭṭhiyā*. For *hattha* see note to 37. 172. The standard of measurement had thus a length of (5 × 18 in.) roughly

four, forty-nine, thirty-eight, thirty-six, thirty-five, fifty-seven,
65 forty-five, sixty-six staves respectively. The boundary stone
set up in the southern region of the heavens was distant from
66 the Gopāla rock[1] fifty-eight staves[2], and the boundary stone
that was set up in the northern region of the heavens, was
67 fifty staves from the Vijjādhara cave[3]. These stones served
for the marking of the main boundary. At the Baddhasīmā-
pāsāda there was a fixed boundary of thirty-five staves in
68 length and breadth[4]. At the sacred space called Khaṇḍasīmā[5]
the boundary was fixed at fifteen staves in length and six
69 staves in breadth[6], and at the pāsāda of the thera the fixed
boundary was eighteen cubits in length and twenty cubits in
70 breadth[7] This vihāra the King dedicated to the bhikkhus
along with the (necessary) articles of use.

In the same way the Ruler of men had the foundations

7½ ft. (= 2 65 m) The distances were thus successively 330, 367½, 285, 270, 262½, 427½, 337½, 495 ft Cf. for this A M Hocart, Mem. ASC. II. 1926, p 5-7 By "main boundary" (*mahāsīmā*) is meant that enclosing the whole of the buildings belonging to the Ālāhana pariveṇa Inside this there were according to 67c to 69, three smaller sections which were marked off by "sub boundaries" or "part-boundaries" (*khaṇḍasīmā*). This distinction corresponds to the description of the fixing of the boundary of the Mahāvihāra Mhvs. 15 193 which speaks of *nimittāni* "boundary marks' pure and simple and *sīmantaranimittāni* "inner boundary marks"

[1] This is probably the rock lying between the Baddhasīmā-pāsāda and the Rankot stūpa According to the popular idea the chasm served as an abode for those bhikkhus who wished to give themselves up to meditation

[2] Therefore 435 ft

[3] That is 375 ft. from what is now called the Gal vehera. Cf below note to v 73

[4] Therefore 262½ ft. × 262½ ft.

[5] Just as the main building took its name from the fixing of the main boundary (*Baddha sīmā*) so one of the sub-sections from that of the sub- or part boundary

[6] Therefore 112½ ft. × 45 ft.

[7] Thus with the cubit (*hattha*) calculated at 18 in. only about 27 ft. × about 30 ft.

laid of the Pacchimārāma[1]. Here in the pariveṇas, which were twenty-two in number (there were) just as many two-storeyed long pāsādas and twenty fire-houses, forty-one two-storeyed small pāsādas as well as thirty-five privies and two cloisters; one sermon hall and ten gate-buildings. He dedicated this vihāra along with the (necessary) articles of use also to the bhikkhus. 71 72 73

Likewise the Ruler of men had the Uttarārāma[2] built. By breaking down the rock not far from the Great thūpa he bringing into play every kind of skilled work, had three grottoes made by expert craftsmen, namely the Vijjādhara grotto, the cave with the image in sitting posture and the grotto with the recumbent image. 74 75

The Ruler also had the Mahāthūpa[3] erected which bore the name of the Damiḷathūpa because it had been built by 76

[1] The "West Monastery". HOCART (Mem. ASC. II, p. 6) supposes this building to be the unexcavated ruins adjoining the remains of the Āḷāhana-pariveṇa on the west.

[2] There can be no doubt that what is meant is the so-called Galvehera. The front of a rock rising about 30 ft. above the surrounding region is polished. It stretches from SW. to NE. gradually sloping away on either side. The rock is about 16 chains (roughly 320 m.) distant from the Great Thūpa situated farther north. Hewn out of the rock wall just about its centre, is a grotto, 26 ft. wide, 12 ft. 9 in. deep and 9 ft. 9 in. in height. The massive rock above the cave is still some 12 to 13 ft. thick. This rock ceiling is supported on two pillars on the front side of the cave. In the background of the cave there is an image of the Buddha sitting on a throne. This cave is the *Vijjādhara-guhā* of our passage. To the left of it from the spectator's point of view, there is the figure of a sitting Buddha 15 ft. high, hewn out of the solid rock. To the right, also hewn out of the solid rock, there is a colossal figure of a recumbent Buddha about 49 ft. long, at its head the upright figure of Ānanda grieving over his dying master. It is probable that both the statues of the sitting and of the recumbent Buddha were originally contained in a grotto or niche made of rock and brickwork. These were the *nisinnapaṭimālena* and the *nipannapaṭimāguhā*. These figures now stand uncovered in the open air. For the whole matter cf. H. C. P. BELL, Rep. ASC. 1907 (= V. 1911), p. 7 ff.

[3] The "Great stūpa" evidently borrowed its name from the Mahāthūpa (Ruvanveli Dagoba) in Anurādhapura. In its present state it is

77 Damilas who had been brought hither after the conquest of the Paṇḍu kingdom It had a circumference of one thousand three hundred cubits[1] and was the largest of all thūpas, like to
78 a second Kelāsa[2], and (built) without the miraculous power of arahants and without the miraculous power of the gods, alone by kingly miraculous power

79 Also he had built in the suburb called Rajavesibhujanga the Isipatana-vihāra[3] which was a delight for the ascetics.
80 There (there was) one relic shrine and three three-storeyed image houses with costly images and resplendent with brightly
81 coloured painting, further a two-storeyed pāsāda whose ornaments called forth delight, two long pāsādas and four gate-
82 buildings, eight small pāsādas, a sermon house, a cloister as
83 well as eight fire-houses and six privies, a fine bathing-house wholly of stone, a boundary wall and a garden which belonged to the bhikkhu community

84 Furthermore in the suburb of Sihapura the Ruler (gifted)
85 with a lion's courage had the Kusinārā-vihāra erected There (there was) a relic shrine, three image houses of three storeys,
86 six long pāsādas, a sermon hall, a cloister, sixteen small pāsādas, three gate-buildings, eleven privies and six fire-houses

87 In the suburb called Vijita King Parakkamabāhu also

a great heap of ruins overgrown with jungle, looking like a natural hill over which run the paths of the wild elephant. The name of Damiḷathūpa has been preserved to the present day in the name Demalamahaseya which is however, erroneously given to another building (see note to v 87)

[1] P ratana = hattha = roughly 18 inches (according to Fleet, JRAS. 1912, p 237) The circumference was therefore roughly 1950 ft. The circumference of the Mahāthūpa in Anurādhapura is 929 ft. (Parker, Ancient Ceylon, p. 286 296) that of the Abhayagiri 1115 ft.

[2] See note to 68 41

[3] For the three suburbs and their monasteries cf the earlier account in 73 151 5 It does not quite agree with ours. If we follow it, the monasteries would be distributed thus Rajavesibhujanga—Veḷuvana—Rajakulantaka (= Sihapura) Isipatana—Vijita: Kusinārā, so far as importance can be attached to the order in which they are given.

98 cubits high, the Jetavana-thūpa one hundred and forty cubits
high, the Abhayagiri-thūpa one hundred and sixty cubits high,
99 as well as the great Maricavaṭṭi-thūpa[1] eighty cubits high. These
100 were (all) overgrown with great trees, bears and panthers
dwelt there and the ground of the jungle scarce offered a
101 foothold by reason of the heaps of bricks and earth. After
having the forest hewn down and (the thūpas) built in the
proper fashion, and faced with stucco, he also cleared the
courtyard of the cetiya.

102 The Lohapāsāda destroyed by the Colas — which measured
in every direction one hundred cubits[2], one hundred in length
and breadth[3] and as much in height, which was adorned with
103 many hundreds of apartments, with fine turrets and with rows
of cells[4] and which had several storeys, whose embellishment
104 called forth admiration — the Ruler of men restored by raising
105 again its thousand and six hundred pillars[5]. Sixty large
pāsādas (like) the one named Sepaṇṇipuppha, as also the
106 destroyed pāsāda called Mahindasena he had renewed, also
boundary walls and numbers of pariveṇas, and after erecting
a house for alms he celebrated a great festival for the offering
107 of alms In the ancient pariveṇas, the Thūpārāma and others,
he saw to the restoration of whatever was decayed or had

ed in the text, not three, and it looks as if the Maricavaṭṭi had been added later.

[1] Taking the four stūpas in the order of their size (cf. above note to v 77) we have for the Abhayagiri 240 ft., for the Jetavana 210 ft., for the Mahāthūpa 180 ft and for the Maricavaṭṭi 120 ft According to Smither, Architectural Remains of Anurādhapura, p 52, 47, 27 in his time the height of the three first thūpas lying in ruins was: 1) Abhayagiri (wrongly called Jetavana by Sm.) 216 ft., 2) Jetavana (by Sm. Abhayagiri) 232 ft., 3) Ruvanveli (= Mahāthūpa) 193 ft. The Maricavaṭṭi thūpa measured then (p 20) over 80 ft It is now restored

[2] = 150 ft The surface area of the Lohapāsāda is in reality rather more than 231 × 232 ft as is proved by the pillars still standing in the basement P M Burrows, The Buried Cities of Ceylon, p 29

[3] So I understand *Aṭṭhasatāruk...* in contrast to *uccato tattakam*

[4] P. *sīhapañjara* "lion's cage". The cells of the Baddhasīmā pāsāda are also called *pañjara* in v. 65

[5] That is in fact the number of the foundation pillars still standing

fallen in. On the Cetiyagiri[1] he had sixty-four thūpas rebuilt 108
and had restored on the old buildings whatever was decayed or had fallen in.

What sensible man when he has thus realised that the 109
pure-minded, even if they live in the greatest happiness, find their supremest bliss in meritorious works — would grow weary in the works of virtue which procure every happiness in the world?

Here ends the seventy-eighth chapter, called «The Building of Vihāras», in the Mahāvaṃsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

[1] The Mihintale mountain. See note to 38. 76.

in which there was an island resplendent with a superb royal
27 palace and which was like to a second ocean He also built
the great tank Parakkamatalāka with a sluice[1] of a hundred
28 cubits[2], and which was made fast[3] by stone construction Further
the Ruler of men built the Mahindatalaka[4] and the Ekāhavāpi

Kūragangā is described in more detail in v 40 ff A canal starting from it waters the Mahāmegha park In 79 7 this park is named immediately after the Dīpuyyāna in Pulatthinagara among the parks laid out by Parakkamabāhu I A sluice of the reservoir was situated according to v 45 near the Caṇḍi gate This name appears in 73 161 among the gates of Pulatthinagara One must therefore look for the Parakkamasamudda of 79 26 at Polonnaruva and it is evidently identical with the Topaveva This was formerly far more extensive than now and was connected with the Dumbutuluvera situated farther south See on the whole subject A M Hocart CJSc G I p 161 In 79 57 a Parakkamasāgara is mentioned As it was also connected with the Kuragangā its name is probably merely a variant of Parakkamasamudda But in v 23 c Parakkamasāgara is mentioned along with the Parakkamasamudda and next to a Parakkamataḷaka It is therefore possible that there were more than two reservoirs called after the king

[1] That *panāli* means the sluice or the outflow from the tank is clear from v 42 43 The *mātikā*, the water canals (called *ăla* now in Sinh) start from the *panāli* In Skr *praṇāli* or *praṇālī* means according to BR a drainage canal The term *panāli* is explained by the construction of the sluices of the old tanks in Ceylon, as described by Parker (Ancient Ceylon p 373 ff) They consist of a walled culvert of about 2 4 ft in breadth which runs across the whole dam and is only slightly raised above the base of the dam To this culvert there leads on the slightly sloping inner side of the dam a square shaft also walled in This is called in Sinhalese *biso-kotuva* The shaft serves for regulating the wooden apparatus (p *āvarana* "lock", see v 69 with note) by the raising and dropping of which the culvert is wholly or partially closed or opened and thus the outflow of the water regulated or completely shut off The shaft with the lock thus divides the culvert into an inflow and an outflow channel

[2] Therefore about 150 ft The number can only apply to the length of the culvert

[3] P *duggа* I believe that here we must take the adjective in the meaning of "sure fast" which has developed out of the meaning "difficult of access" In the same way the substantive *duggа* (originally "a place difficult of access") has become "a strong place", then a "fortress".

[4] A Mahindataḷa was already mentioned in 42 29 as a work of

tank, as well as the Parakkamasāgara whose flood-escape was
walled up[1]; also small tanks at different places a thousand 29
four hundred and seventy-one (in number). At three hundred 30
tanks the Monarch had as many stone sluices built. Ancient 31
tanks which had burst he again dammed up in great number:
the great tank Maṇihīra, the Mahādāragallaka, the tank called 32
Suvaṇṇatissa and that called Dūratissa, the Kālavāpi tank and
the one Brāhmaṇaggāma by name, the tanks called Nālikera- 33
mahāthamba, Rahera, Giritaḷāka and Kumbhīlasobbha; the 34
Kāṇavāpi, Padīvāpi and the tank called Kaṭi, the Pattapāsāṇavāpi
and the tank called Mahaṇṇa; the tanks with the names 35
Mahānāmamatthaka, Vaḍḍhana, Mahādatta and Kāṇagāma;
the tanks Vīra, Valāhassa and Suramāna and the tanks called 36
Pāsāṇagāma and Kālavalli; the tank by name Kāhalli and 37
that called Aṅgagāma, the Hillapattakakhaṇḍa and the Madagu[2].

Aggabodhi I. If the Mahindataḷāka is identical with this, it can only have been a restoration.

[1] P. *koṭṭhabaddhanijjhara.* By *nijjhara* (originally "waterfall") are meant the flood escapes or "waste-weirs" (Parker l. l. p. 374) serving for the overflow of the water when the reservoir is too full. The weir of the Parakkamasāgara is walled in (*koṭṭhabaddha*). Note that in Skr. *koṣṭhaka* may also mean an encircling wall, and on the other hand that the corresponding Sinhalese word *koṭura* (see above v. 27 note) is also used in connection with waterworks. In Mhvs. 68. 16 *Koṭṭhabaddha* is the name of a causeway on the Jajjara-nadī.

[2] Of the tanks enumerated here six (Valāhassa, Mahādāragalla, Mahādatta, Kumbhīlasobbha, Pattapāsāṇa and Kāṇa) are mentioned in 60. 50 as having been restored by Vijayabāhu I. Cf. note to the passage. The Maṇihīra is the work of Mahāsena (Mhvs. 37. 47), likewise the Suvaṇṇatissa (Wickremasinghe, EZ. II. 28, called Rantisa in the Medirigiriya inscr.) and the Mahādāragalla (37. 47); the Dūratissa, one of Saddhātissa (Mhvs. 33. 9); the Giritaḷāka, one of Aggabodhi II. (42. 67; cf. note to 70. 312). Rahera is frequently mentioned now as locality, now as mountain apparently situated not far from Anurādhapura, (Mhvs. 21. 5; 41. 44; 44. 7), also as an irrigation canal (41. 31). Kāṇagāma was a place in Rohaṇa (45. 43) and Hillapattakakhaṇḍa is in 72. 41 the name of a ford of the Mahaveliganga. The remaining names occur only in this passage. Of these Padīvāpi (v. 34) might be identical with the Padaviya tank in the north-east corner of the North Central Province, 40 miles from Anurādhapura. Cf. Wickremasinghe, EZ. I. 202.

38 These decayed tanks the Ruler had restored to their original
state and in the same way four hundred and sixty-seven small
39 tanks which had been destroyed In many tanks the King
well aware of the right moment, had breaches (a total of)
one thousand three hundred and ninety-five (in number)
40 dammed up so that they were firm again The King also
had a canal constructed, called Gambhīrā (the deep), which
started at the flood-escape called Makara of the Parakkama-
41 samudda *(He also constructed) the great canal by name*
Hemavatī which branched off from the same (tank) in
42 the direction of the Mahāmeghavana, in the same way
the canal known by the name of Nīlavāhinī which started
43 from the sluice called Mālatipuppha of the same (tank) and
the canal Salaḷavatī by name which branched off from the
44 Kilākaruyyāna sluice, further the great canal called Vettavatī
which took its start from the sluice known by the name of
45 Vettavatī, the canal Tungabhaddā coming from the Dakkhiṇā
sluice and the canal Maṅgalagaṅgā which branched off from
the sluice called Maṅgala, as well as the canal called Campā
46 from the sluice near the Caṇḍi gate (He built) also the
Sarasvatī (canal) which branched off from the Toyavāpi and
led to Puṇṇavaddhanavāpi and the Veṇumatī (canal) from its
47 western side, further the (canal) Yamunā which branched off
from the Puṇṇavaddhana tank to the west and the Sarabhū
48 (canal) which ran northwards, also the canal called Candabhāgā
which flowed through the centre of the Lakkhuyyāna, and
the Nammadā (canal) which branched off in the domain of the
49 Jetavana-vihāra, further the canal named Nerañjarā which
flowed from that tank in a northerly direction, and the
50 Bhagīrathī, which started from the Anotatta tank, as also
the (canal) called Avattagaṅgā which branched off from there
to the south and the Tambapaṇṇī (canal) which flowed from
51 the Ambāla tank towards the north, the Aciravatī (canal)
which ran westwards from the Mahāvālukagaṅgā, fitted for
52 many a long year to prevent famine, and the Gomatī (canal)
which branching off from there flowed eastwards, and the
53 Malīpaharaṇī (canal) running northwards, also the canals

born in Punkhagāma[1] he erected the Sutighara-cetiya one
62 hundred and twenty cubits high He had twenty-two relic
shrines erected, thirty-seven Bodhi Trees (planted), one hundred
63 image houses, fifteen caves, twenty-one dwellings for the
community in the four regions of the heavens and eighty-
64 seven rest-houses for strangers. He put up chapels with altars
for flowers, twenty-nine in number, seven sermon halls as well
65 as five outer walls and forty-three images of divers kinds.
66 He restored twenty-four ruined image houses The Mahāgallaka
tank[2] and the Tālaggallaka tank, the Rājini weir[3], the weir
67 called Telapakka, the weir on the Jajjarā[4] and the Vilattākhaṇḍa
(weir) the Monarch made fast for the flourishing of the harvest
68 in the land Three hundred and fifty-eight damaged places
69 in tanks and the stone sluices on thirteen tanks as well as
one hundred and sixty locks[5] and small tanks which were
damaged, thirty-seven in number — these the Monarch had
repaired

70 Also in the province of Rohaṇa the King who had delight
in meritorious works, had divers buildings erected in villages
71 and market towns On the site of his mother's pyre in Khīra-
gāma[6] the Monarch (erected) the Ratanavali-cetiya, one hundred
72 and twenty cubits[7] in height. Further (he founded) sixteen

[1] See note to 61 26 The height of the tope was roughly 180 ft

[2] Cf Mhvs 68 34 and 43

[3] P *nijjhara* See note to v 28 What is here called *nijjhara* is probably the same as *vāri(sam)pāta* Mhvs 48. 148, 68 35, 37

[4] Probably an allusion to the great irrigation works described in Mhvs 68 16 ff which needed repair In the case of a river *nijjhara* means the dam (*setu*) built in it through which a part of the water is conducted into a lateral canal If the river has a large volume of water, it flows over the dam and forms a "fall" like the flood escape in a tank

[5] P *dvāravaṃsa* I believe this is meant for the shafts and the apparatus for regulating the outflow of the water at the sluices (see note 1 to v 27).

[6] See note to 74 163.

[7] That is 180 ft. The size (*dyāma*) probably refers to the height According to H W Codrington (letter of 1 4 [illegible]), the measurement of the tope of Badalkumbara gave a circumference of 9[illegible] ft which would in fact give a height of about 180 ft.

relic shrines, seven Bodhi Trees and also vast Bodhi temples
and seventy Bodhi Tree terraces[1] and two-storeyed image 73
houses forty-three in number, two sermon halls and seventy-
five images, thirty-seven dwellings for the community from 74
the four regions of the heavens, forty-seven outer walls and
twenty gate-buildings; also fifty-nine rest-houses for guests, 75
four parks and three statues of the Metteyya. After the 76
Sovereign had then built five dancing-halls, he had everything
here and there which was broken down and decayed restored.
Thirty-seven thūpas, twenty-two Bodhi Tree terraces, two 77
hundred and seventy-four large image houses, one relic temple, 78
seven temples for images in recumbent posture, forty caves
and four brick houses; four long pāsādas, and six three-storeyed 79
pāsādas, twenty-nine sermon halls and three cloisters, one 80
hundred and twenty-six dwelling-houses, one hundred and
twenty-eight houses for books and four rest-houses for guests,
twenty-four temples to the gods, one hundred and three 81
tower-gates, one hundred and twenty-six outer walls
these all the Sovereign had restored. The Ruler also made 82
fast two hundred and sixteen leaking tanks belonging to the
community, like the great Uruvelā tank and the Paṇḍukolamba
tank and others, further eighteen decayed sluice locks and two 83
hundred and five ruined small tanks. On ten tanks he repaired 84
the stone sluices and here and there he had forty-four canals dug[2].

By constructing in this way beautiful vihāras, gardens, 85
tanks and the like he adorned with these numerous (works)
the whole of Laṅkā.

Thus Parakkamabāhu, the Ruler of men, by whom were 86
performed divers and numerous kinds of meritorious works,
who continually found the highest satisfaction in the teaching

[1] P. *bodhikoṭṭhake.* Here also *koṭṭhaka* (see above note to v. 28) is used in the sense of walling up. It is a usual custom to surround the sacred trees with a terrace, even if it consist merely of stones heaped together.

[2] This verse ends the first continuation of the Mahāvaṃsa ascribed to Dhammakitti. See my edition of the Cūlavaṃsa I. Introd. p. III.

of the Master, who was endowed with extraordinary energy and discernment, carried on the government for thirty-three years[1]

Here ends the seventy-ninth chapter, called «The Laying out of Gardens and the Like», in the Mahāvaṃsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious

[1] The same number of years in Pūjāv. and Rājaratn Rajāv 32 years

CHAPTER LXXX

THE SIXTEEN KINGS

Thereupon the sister's son of this Great king, the wise 1
poet sovereign King Vijayabāhu[1], became monarch in Laṅkā.
When he had received consecration as king the prudent one 2
in his great mercy released from their misery those dwellers
in Laṅkā whom his uncle, the Sovereign Parakkama, had 3
thrown into prison and tortured with stripes or with fetters.
By restoring at different places to various people their village 4
or their field he increased the joyfulness[2] of them all. As 5

[1] In Polonnaruva there is an inscription of Vijayabāhu II. which supplements the account of our chronicle (Wickremasinghe EZ. II. 179 ff.). In it he also describes himself as sister's son of Parakkamabāhu. We know three sisters of this king, but I doubt if any of these three was the mother of Vijayabāhu II. Wickremasinghe thinks she was Bhaddavatī, the wife of Gajabāhu, who would in fact be the most likely. But in 70. 333 (cf below note to v. 31) we have the distinct statement that Gajabāhu had no son. This is not easy to get over. I am inclined to think that there was a fourth unnamed sister of Parakkamabāhu's married to a Kaliṅga prince. Then it would be intelligible (cf. below, note to v. 18) that Vijayabāhu, the son of this prince and of a sister of Parakkamabāhu, should in his turn, appoint a Kaliṅga prince as his successor, and that the latter should describe him as head of the clan. The inscription relates further that Vijayabāhu was in Siṃhapura, the capital of Kaliṅga, when Parakkama summoned him to Laṅkā. Parakkama's relations with the Kaliṅga dynasty are intelligible. He had himself Kaliṅga blood in his veins through his grandmother Tilokasundarī whom Vijayabāhu I. fetched from this dynasty to secure the continuance of his house (Mhvs. 59. 29 ff.).

[2] Vv. 3 and 4 show Parakkamabāhu in a curious light. According to this account, he was a severe if not cruel ruler, who made his subjects slave that he might gratify his love of splendour. Vijayabāhu II. grants an amnesty at his accession.

Alakā for (the god) Kubera and Amarāvatī for Sakka, so was
6 Pulatthinagara for him the royal city. He himself composed
in the Māgadha tongue a most excellent letter, sent it to the
7 monarch living in Arimaddana[1], concluded with this beloved
(prince) a friendly treaty as aforetime his great grandfather
8 Vijayabāhu[2], and (being) highly famed, to increase the joy of
the bhikkhus in the land of Laṅkā and Arimaddana, he made
9 the Order of the Buddha lustrous. As the Ruler departed
not from any precept of the political teaching of Manu, he
rejoiced the people through the four heart-winning qualities.
10 Endowed with kindness, purity and other virtues, he found
his highest satisfaction in the triad of the jewels, Buddha and
11 the like. Of most excellent character he, ever joyous in spirit,
12 provided the bhikkhus with the four articles of use. Manifesting great exertion, he like a wise Bodhisatta, everywhere
13 in every way interested himself in all beings. Shunning the
four wrongful paths[3] he in his great insight, practised in the
exercise of justice, towards good and evil favour and severity.
14 Thus this Monarch respected by the laity and the Order, performing many meritorious works, carried on the government
for one year[4].
15 Now after a traitor, Mahinda by name, of the Kulinga
clan[5], who had won as his spouse a cowherd's daughter, Di-

[1] The capital of Rāmañña (Lower Burma, Pegu) Cf Mhvs 76 38 We see from this passage that the Māgadha tongue, that is *Pāli*, was the medium of international intercourse, in the same way as Latin in the Middle Ages.

[2] Vijayabāhu I. is called not quite correctly, the grandfather (*pitāmaha*) of Vijayabāhu II. For his relations with Rāmañña see Mhvs. 60 5 ff.

[3] See note to 37. 108

[4] The same length of reign in the Pūjāv in which the King's name is given as Paṇḍitavijayabāhu He has the same name in the Nik s. and Rājaratn.

[5] W. translates "Mahinda of Kalinga" and gives a wrong colouring to the affair The MSS have *Kulingo* and also the Col. Ed. The clan name of the Kulinga occurs already in Mhvs 19 2. Pūjāv. calls the usurper Kilinkesdā Mihindādipāṇo (*kesda* is *kesadhātu*). Rājaratn. and

panī by name, had treacherously slain the Monarch, (he) the 16
deluded one without gaining the consent of the generals, of
the warriors, of the indignant inhabitants of the country and 17
of the whole of the dignitaries, carried on in most evil fashion
the government in Laṅkā for five days.

After his murder the Uparāja of King Vijayabāhu, born in 18
Kaliṅga, Kittinissaṅka by name[1], became king. After he had 19
received royal consecration he had built in superb Pulatthinagara
a beautiful temple of stone for the Tooth Relic[2]. He had the 20
lofty Ratanāvalī-cetiya made firm and embellished the splendid

Nik.-s. Kilinkesdā Mihindu, and Rājāv. merely Kilinkesdā. Pūjāv. and Rājāv. like the Mhvs. give him a reign of just five days.

[1] King Nissaṅka Malla has left many and ample inscriptions. Ed. MÜLLER has edited 15 of them in the AIC (nr. 143 ff.) WICKREMASINGHE 18 in all, EZ. (I. 121 ff., II. 70, 84, 91, 96, 98, 123, 125, 128, 130, 134, 137, 143, 146, 148, 153, 157, 165 ff.). Their contents are very similar. With regard to his descent we learn (for ex. in the famous Galpota inscription in Polonnaruva, EZ. II. 98 ff.) that he was born in the Kaliṅga country in the town of Siṃhapura as son of the King Jayagopa and the Queen Pārvatī. The Great king of Laṅkā the Chief of the clan (*kula-jeṭu*) — without doubt Vijayabāhu II. is meant — had summoned him thither to take over the government. He had been at first prince and viceroy and had then ascended the throne in virtue of the law of succession. This right is frequently stressed in the inscriptions and justified by his descent from Vijaya, the first king of Laṅkā. Without doubt this right was much disputed and it looks as if the bombastic style of Nissaṅka Malla's inscriptions had the object of increasing the prestige of the new Kāliṅga dynasty in Ceylon.

[2] In the inscriptions (for ex. Galpota-I., C, line 1) and the Heṭa-dā-gē portico inscr., l. 19; EZ. II. 89 and 113) Nissaṅka Malla claims to have built the *daḷadā-geya*, which was named after him, as well as the *vaṭa-geya*. This last is evidently the so-called Vaṭa-dā-gē on the Quadrangle which was, however, in reality, a work of Parakkamabāhu I. and probably only restored by Nissaṅka Malla. See note to 78. 41. What the *daḷadā-geya* was and where it was situated is not certain. One is inclined to think first of the Heṭa-dā-gē situated opposite the Vaṭa-dā-gē. That is according to the inscriptions on the building itself, apparently a work of Nissaṅka Malla. But in spite of its traditional title, it was probably not a *dā-gē*, a "relic shrine" but an "image house". Cf. the note to 78. 39. As *dā-gē* the Sat-mahal-pāsāda might merit consideration, unless this is a work of Parakkamabāhu I. (note to 78. 42).

21 structure with a golden point[1]. After building the vihāra[2]
adorned with a hundred pāsādas which bore his name, he
made it over to the bhikkhu community and supported it
22 The Jambukola-vihāra resplendent with walls and pillars
shimmering in gold and silver, where the floor was of red
23 lead and the bricks of the roof were of gold, the wise (Monarch)
had rebuilt and placed therein seventy-three golden statues of
24 the Master[3] With the four-membered army the Ruler full
of pious devotion, went forth to the Samantakūta and performed
25 there his devotions[4], and everywhere on the island of Tamba-
paṇṇi[5] he had flower gardens and fruit gardens and numbers
26 of houses for the community laid down[6] While in this way

[1] The tope is therefore called even to day the Rankot Dāgoba Gol den point dagoba'. It has nothing, however, to do with the Mahathupa in Polonnaruva with which it is associated in the index to my edition The Rankot lies to the south of the Alahana pariveṇa The height is given in the Galpota inscription C line 2 as 80 cubits (= 120 ft) The Rankot-Dāgoba Gal āsana inscr (EZ II 134 ff) belongs to the time at which that Dagoba was built The expression *bandhapeti* has made fast or firm is, as a rule, employed of the restoration of old buildings

[2] Not yet identified

[3] The famous cave temples of Dambul are situated about 47 miles north of Kandy on the road to Anuradhapura There is an inscription on the rock wall there of Nissanka Malla (Wickremasinghe, EZ I 121 ff) in which at the end, he boasts of having constructed or embellished these caves and of having given them the name of *Suvarnagiriguha* The 73 statues set up by the king are also mentioned in the Prītidanaka-maṇḍapa inscr line 30 (EZ II 173)

[4] The inscriptions mention repeatedly the journeys of the King to the sacred places of the Island Adam s Peak (*Samantakuta* = Sinh *Samanala*) is expressly mentioned in the inscription on the vestibule wall of the Heṭa-dā gē (l 3 EZ II 94)

[5] The ancient name for Ceylon, originally of that part in particular where Vijaya landed See Mhvs 6 47, 7 38 f, 41

[6] In the inscriptions the King also boasts repeatedly of successful campaigns *against the Colas, Paṇḍyas and other peoples in Southern* India. It is almost impossible to disentangle the historical facts from the exaggerations In the kingdom itself he claims to have increased the prosperity of the people by lightening taxation, *by the laying out* of gardens and tanks and by a generous giving of alms He claims also to have reformed the Church The mention of the fixing of the

day by day the Ruler accumulated many a merit, he carried on the government for nine years[1] in most excellent fashion.

His son, the King known by the name of Vīrabāhu[2], 27
hereupon ruled for one night and then fell into the power of death.

Thereupon the younger brother of that same king Kitti- 28
nissaṅka, King Vikkamabāhu[3], enjoyed the royal dignity
for three months. He was slain by the Ruler Coḍagaṅga, 29
a sister's son of King Nissaṅka, who carried on the government
for nine months[4]. Thereupon the powerful general Kitti had 30
the eyes of this king put out, deposed him and had the
government carried on for three years without mishap[5] by 31
Līlāvatī, the first mahesī of the sovereign Parakkamabāhu.

gāvuta and of the setting up of milestones is interesting (Inscr. of the vestibule wall of the Heṭa-dā-gē, line 12; EZ. II. 94). Mr. H.W. Codrington has actually discovered a number of such gāvuta stones with inscriptions (letter of 1-4-28). They stand along the ancient high road (Mahāgāma-Kataragama-Buttala-Medagama-Bibile-(Mahiyaṅgaṇa).

[1] The same number in Pūjāv. and Rājāv. These and the Rājaratn. ascribe the same merit to Nissaṅka Malla as the Mhvs. The Sinhalese chronicles distinguish like the inscriptions, between the temple of the Tooth Relic and the circular building. The number of the statues set up in the Dambul-vihāra is given in the Pūjāv. as 72, in the Rājaratn. as 63.

[2] In the Galpota inscr. B, line 1-2 (EZ. II. 111) he is called the son of Nissaṅka Malla. Pūjāv. also mentions that his reign only lasted one night.

[3] Mentioned in the inscr. of the vestibule wall of the Heṭa-dā-gē line 13-14 as *āpā* "prince". Pūjāv. and Rājāv. give him the same length of reign as the Mhvs.

[4] The same in Pūjāv. In Rājāv. Coḍagaṅga is mentioned as the general who carried on the government for three years for Līlāvatī. Kitti is therefore not mentioned at all here.

[5] Pūjāv. like the Mhvs., Rājaratn. and Nik.-s. enumerates only the names Vīrabāhu, Vikkamabāhu, Coḍagaṅga, Līlāvatī without other details. Līlāvatī was the daughter of Sirivallabha and Sugalā. Coḍagaṅga (in the form of Colagaṅga) and Vikkamabāhu (Vikkantabāhu) are named as princes (*rājaputtā*) who lived at the court of Gajabāhu (70. 238), but were not his sons (cf. 70. 333).

32 Thereupon King Sāhasamalla of the race of Okkāka, a
lion in courage, carried on the government for two years[1].
33 Then having deposed this Monarch, the general Āyasmanta[2],
a man of almost unsurpassable courage, a supporter of his
34 royal family, prudently had the government carried on with
wise policy for six months by Kalyāṇavatī, the first mahesī
35 of Kittinissanka[3]. This Queen Kalyāṇavatī, who was devoted
to the Order of the Master, had a vihāra called after her,
36 built in the village Paṇṇasālaka by name, for love of the
village, and assigned it villages, fields, articles of use, slaves,
37 gardens and so forth. With her consent, the general Āyasmanta,
who administered the government in all Lankā, who came of
38 the Khandhāvara family, sent the Adhikārin Deva to charming
Valliggāma, had a vihāra erected there[4] and assigned to the
39 Great community. He built the pariveṇa known by his name
40 of Sarājakulavaḍḍhana[5] and caring for its support, he assigned

[1] Pūjav the same In Rājav there is only mention of a king of the Okkāka family (without the name) who reigned 9 years There is an inscription of Sahasamalla in Polonnaruva with the exact date of his coming to the throne in the Buddha era (Wickremasinghe, EZ II 219 ff), according to which Fleet has calculated the event as occurring on Wednesday, the 23 rd of August, 1200 A D (Fleet, JRAS 1909, p 327, 331) This is the first absolutely certain date in the history of Ceylon See E Hultzsch JRAS 1913, p 518, Wickremasinghe, EZ I 123, note 4, II 220 H W Codrington, HC, p 67 75

[2] Pūjav and Rājav call him Elaḷu Abō Senevirat This is the same general who appears in inscriptions as Lak Vijayasingu Senevi Abōnavan Tavurunavan (EZ II 112 line 15, 226 l 19) Wickremasinghe EZ II 191 shows that probably Āyasmanta is the same as the Kitti mentioned in v 30 who calls himself in an inscription Lag Vijaya singu Kit Senivīyan and describes himself as the minister of Līla vatī (E Müller, AIC Nr 157)

[3] Kalyaṇavatī is mentioned in inscriptions of Nissanka Malla (for ex EZ II 94, line 13 and 111, l 2) under the form *Kalyana* A short in scription of hers is also preserved in Bopitiya (EZ II 190 ff) in which she calls herself Kalyāṇavatī Pūjav and Rājav give her a reign of 6 years [4] See 90 96

[5] That means 'furtherer of his royal family' See v 33 I am now inclined to believe that there and here we should read with W *sarā jakulavaddhana* (= *svarāj*°) not *sa r*°

it villages and fields surrounded by parks and the like and
which could scarcely be visited by a bad harvest, together
with articles of use and slaves male and female. Having 41
scrupulously separated the four castes who had become im-
pure through mixture, he bent on doing good, had a text
book compiled which had law as its subject.

Thereupon there reigned for one year[1] a royal prince 42
Dhammāsoka by name, who on coming to the throne was
aged three months. The Mahādipāda Anīkaṅga came at the 43
head of a great army from the Coḷa kingdom, slew the ruler
in Pulatthinagara, Prince Dhammāsoka, together with the 44
general Āyasmanta and reigned seventeen days[2]. But the 45
general, Vikkantacamūnakka, the villain, slew the Monarch
Anīkaṅga and had the government carried on for a year[3] by 46
the first consort of King Parakkamabāhu, Līlāvatī by name,
who had already reigned before.

Now came King Lokissara by name, who had been 47
wounded in the shoulder by a spear, with a great Damiḷa
army from the opposite shore, brought the whole of Laṅkā 48
under his sway and reigned, dwelling in Pulatthinagara, nine
months[4]. Hereupon the general Parakkama, the best among 49
men of decision, endowed with great power and courage,
belonging to the family of the Kālanāgaras, consecrated the 50
Mahesī Līlāvatī[5] who came of the dynasty of the Sun and
Moon, in the royal dignity, she who afterward shone in royal

[1] Pūjāv. the same. In Rājāv. it is expressly stated that it was Āyasmanta who raised the prince to the throne. The prince's age at his ascent of the throne is given as 5 months, the length of Āyasmanta's regency as 6 years.

[2] The same number in Pūjāv. and Rājāv.

[3] In Pūjāv. and Rājāv. the general is called Manakkā Senevi. The length of the regency is given as one year.

[4] Pūjāv. and Rājāv. 5 months.

[5] Līlāvatī thus enjoyed the royal dignity nominally at least three times (v. 30 f., 45 f., 49 f.). For inscriptions of this queen see EZ. I. 176 ff., II. 192 ff, 238 ff. The last named was found at Potgul-vehera in Polonnaruva and says that the queen had this building restored. It was one of the foundations of Parakkamabāhu I. For the general Parakkama see Dāṭhāvaṃsa v. 4.

51 splendour. When then a space of about seven months[1] had
passed for the Mahesī, there landed with a great Paṇḍu army
52 from the Paṇḍu kingdom the glorious Paṇḍu King Parakkama,
53 deposed the Queen and her general Parakkama and after he
had cleared Laṅkā from the briers (of revolt), he ruled the
realm in superb Pulatthinagara for three years[2], without
54 transgressing the political precepts of Manu But since in
consequence of the enormously accumulated, various evil deeds
55 of the dwellers in Laṅkā, the devatās who were everywhere
entrusted with the protection of Laṅkā, failed to carry out
56 this protection, there landed a man who held to a false creed,
whose heart rejoiced in bad statesmanship, who was a forest
fire for the burning down of bushes in the forest of the good,
57 — that is of generosity and the like — who was a sun whose action
closed the rows of night lotus flowers — that is the good
doctrine — and a moon for destroying the grace of the groups
58 of the day lotuses — that is of peace — (a man) by name
Māgha, an unjust king sprung from the Kālinga line, in
59 whom reflection was fooled by his great delusion, landed as
leader of four and twenty thousand warriors from the Kalinga
60 *country and conquered the island of Laṅkā The great scorch*-
ing fire — King Māgha — commanded his countless flames
of fire — his warriors — to harass the great forest — the
61 kingdom of Laṅkā[3] While thus his great warriors oppressed
the people, boasting cruelly everywhere. "We are Kerala
62 warriors", they tore from the people their garments, their
ornaments and the like, corrupted the good morals of the
63 family which had been observed for ages, cut off hands and
feet and the like (of the people), destroyed many houses and
tied up cows, oxen and other (cattle) which they made their
64 own property After they had put fetters on the wealthy
and rich people and had tortured them and taken away all

[1] The same in Pūjav, Rājāv 4 months

[2] The same in Pujāv and Rajav

[3] In verses 56 60 the compiler gives specimens of his intimacy with the rules of Indian poetics — alamkāra The comparisons belong to the species *rupaka* Cf Daṇḍin, Kāvyādarsa 2 66 ff

their possessions, they made poor people of them. They wreck- 65
ed the image houses, destroyed many cetiyas, ravaged the
vihāras and maltreated the lay brethren. They flogged the 66
children, tormented the five (groups of the) comrades of the
Order[1], made the people carry burdens and forced them to
do heavy labour. Many books known and famous they tore 67
from their cord and strewed them hither and thither. The 68
beautiful, vast, proud cetiyas like the Ratanāvalī(-cetiya)[2] and
others which embodied as it were, the glory of former pious
kings, they destroyed by overthrowing them and allowing 69
alas! many of the bodily relics, their souls[3] as it were, to
disappear. Thus the Damiḷa warriors in imitation of the 70
warriors of Māra, destroyed in the evil of their nature, the
laity and the Order. Hereupon they completely invested 71
Pulatthinagara and captured Parakkama, that man of great
might and valour. They put out the Monarch's eyes and 72
plundered all his treasures, pearls, jewels and so forth. Then 73
the leaders of the soldiers with Mānābharaṇa at the head,
consecrated the Kāliṅga Māgha to the glorious royal dignity
of Laṅkā.

Now after the Ruler Māgha had in this manner taken 74
possession of the kingdom and attained the royal dignity, he
dwelt in Pulatthinagara. The Monarch forced the people to 75
adopt a false faith and he brought great confusion into the
four sharply divided castes[4]. Villages and fields, houses and 76
gardens, slaves, cattle, buffaloes and whatever else belonged to
the Sīhalas he had delivered up to the Keraḷas. The vihāras, the 77
pariveṇas and many sanctuaries he made over to one or other
of his warriors as dwelling. The treasures which belonged to 78

[1] P. *sahadhammike*, that is the bhikkhus and bhikkhunīs, the novices, *sāmaṇerā*, of male and female sex, and the young girls who were being prepared for the profession of nuns (*sikkhamānā*).

[2] Here for the first time the now customary name (Sinh. *Ruvanväli*) is used for the Mahāthūpa in Anurādhapura.

[3] Lit. "their life" (*jīvitaṃ*).

[4] V. 41 ab must be compared with 75 c d. The "false faith" was Hinduism.

the Buddha and were the property of the holy Order he seized and thus committed a number of sins in order to go to hell
79 In this fashion committing deeds of violence, the Ruler Magha held sway in Lanka for twenty-one years[1]
80 Thus in Lanka this and that ruler out of great lust for power, have slain this and that lord of men, but have themselves in consequence of these deeds, attained to no good old age and even when they had achieved the kingly dignity, they could not alas! enjoy it for long Hence the wise man should refrain from the destruction of living beings and renounce wanton lust for power

Here ends the eightieth chapter, called «The Sixteen Kings», in the Mahavamsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious

[1] The same in Pujav According to Rajav 19 years The description of Magha s reign in both chronicles agrees entirely with that of the Mhvs Rajaratn and Nik s continue their enumeration of the names (cf note to 80 31) In the first Samagalla (read Sahasamalla) Kalyaṇavati Dharmasoka Nekanga Anilavati Lokesvara Lilavati Paṇḍita Parakramabahu in the second Sahasamalla Kalyaṇavaṭi Dharmasoka Aniyangana Lilavati Lokesvara Lilavati Parakramapaṇḍi Then there follows in Rajaratn the account of the tyrannical reign of the Kalinga Meghi Nik s has the form Magha

CHAPTER LXXXI

THE REIGN OF ONE KING

During this alien rule[1] several virtuous people had founded 1
on divers of the most inaccessible mountains a charming town
(or) a village[2] and dwelling here and there protected the laity 2
and the Order so that they were in peace. On the summit of
the Subha mountain[3] hard to ascend by the foe, the Senāpati 3
Subha had founded a town, as Vessavaṇa the town Ālakamandā,
and dwelling here and fending off the Keraḷa devils, he protected 4
the (surrounding) country and the Order. On the summit of
the Govindamala[4] hard to reach by the rebels, the Ādipāda 5
ruler Bhuvanekabāhu by name, whose courage was known to
the world, had founded a town and by dwelling there, he 6
protected the province of Rohaṇa, the community of the
bhikkhus and the Order[5].

[1] P. *rājantara* (cf. 87. 46) formed like *desantara*. The translation "interregnum" is also permissible, since no lawful kings reigned.

[2] P. *nagaraṃ gāmaṃ*. When in the sequel the buildings on the rocks are designated as *nagarāni* the reason is probably that larger settlements arose at the foot of the rock fortresses and under the protection of these. The word *nagara* is associated with the idea of a permanent stronghold.

[3] *Subhapabbata*, now Yāpahu (= *yahapavu* = P. *yasapabbata*), an isolated rock like Sīgiri, not far from Maho. Cf. H. C. P. Bell, ASC. 1910-11 = X. 1914, p. 52 ff.; 1911-12, p. 60 ff.; F. H. Modder, JRAS. C. B. XIII, nr. 44, 1893, p. 97 ff.

[4] This form of the name is hardly right. The Col. Ed. has altered it into *Govindācala*. I should rather propose *Govindasela*, since its name to-day is *Govindahela*. The Govindahela is known by the name of "Westminster Abbey". This imposing rock rises 20 miles west of Tirukkovil, south of the village of Bovala in the Mahavedirata Korale (Census, 1921, II, p. 460). Cf. F. Lewis, JRAS. C. B. 1908, nr. 61, p. 167 ff.; 1914, nr. 67, p. 279 ff.

[5] When *bhikkhusaṃgha* and *sāsana* are named together here, the first means the persons, the second the thing, that is the doctrine and the free practice of it in the Order.

7 In the same way again the general called Sankha founded
in the district Maṇimekhala by name, on the lofty mountain
8 Gaṅgādoṇi a superb town and while dwelling there, gave as
little heed to the infamous army of the Ruler Māgha, though
9 it was but two yojanas away, as to a blade of grass and
protected without fear that district and the Order.

10 Now at that time there was a king known by the name of
Vijayabāhu, belonging to the line of King Saṃghabodhi[1], a
11 man of splendid courage who after he had through fear of
the foe withdrawn to divers inaccessible forests and had long
dwelt there, attained the dignity of a king of the Vanni[2].
12 The mighty one brought all the dignitaries of the Sihalas
13 under his influence, marched forth with a Sihala army and
destroyed the whole of the four-membered forces of the foe
which were armed for battle, as a mighty flame of fire[3]
14 (destroys) the darkness. All the Damiḷa warriors who dwelt
as they pleased in the single villages and houses he drove
15 forth After he had freed superb Māyāraṭṭha[4] from the briers
(of the foe), the Ruler built on the lofty summit of the
16 Jambuddoṇi[5] mountain a splendid town with fine walls and
gate-towers, resided there in happiness and carried on the
government as capable monarch.

[1] Sirisaṃghabodhi I See Mhvs 36 73 ff

[2] Here the tribe of the Vanni is mentioned for the first time. The name does not occur in the older Mahāvaṃsa nor in the Cūlavaṃsa of Dhammakitti The Vannis live to day, but a few hundred in number, in small villages on the northern frontier of the North Central Province. They go in for agriculture and preferably for hunting Their origin is unknown The surrounding inhabitants call them Veddas as a rule, and the Census of 1921 evidently includes them among these They themselves repudiate all connection with the Veddas on whom they look down with contempt Cf H Parker, The Vanniyas, The Taprobanian, Feb 1887, p 15 ff, and Ancient Ceylon, p 36 ff

[3] P *tejokkhandha*, synonym for *aggikkhandha*

[4] It is noteworthy that in this second continuation of the Cūlavaṃsa the names Dakkhiṇadesa and Rājaraṭṭha vanish and are replaced by *Māyāraṭṭha* and *Patiṭṭharaṭṭha* Cf. note to 81. 46

[5] Now Dambadeniya, about 18 miles south west of *Kurunegala* Cf. F. H Modder, JRAS C B, XV, nr 48, 1897, p. 23 ff.

And further: during these disturbed times all the Grand 17
theras with Vācissara at the head, had carried away from
Pulatthinagara the Almsbowl Relic and the Tooth Relic of
the Master, had gone forth, had betaken themselves to 18
Māyāraṭṭha and there on the mountain Kotthumala in a safe 19
region had buried both the relics carefully in the earth and
so preserved them[1]. Now some of these Grand theras with 20
Vācissara at the head, who sought that protection for Laṅkā
on which depended the continuance of the Order, had crossed 21
the vast ocean, despite its raging waves, had betaken themselves
to the lands of the Paṇḍus, Coḷas and other (peoples). Now 22
Vijayabāhu sending forth his great dignitaries, summoned all
these theras who were a mine of mercy[2] back from there. When 23
the Grand theras arrived he greeted them with reverence and
asked them: "Where are the two relics, the Tooth and the
Almsbowl preserved"? At their answer, "In such and such a 24
place", the Monarch's whole body was filled with a fivefold
joy[3]. Led by the crowd of the Grand theras, the Ruler set 25
forth with his army for the Kotthumala mountain. After he 26
had performed a great sacrificial festival[4] round about the
mountain, he beheld there gazing with his whole soul[5], the

[1] Pūjāv., Rājāv. and Rājaratn. agree with the Cūlavaṃsa as regards the rescue of the two relics from Pulatthinagara and the bringing of them to Māyāraṭṭha. The chronicles call the mountain Kotmalaya. The thera Vācissara is not mentioned. In our passage *khemaṭṭhānamhi* in v. 19 b must be understood as appositional addition to *padesamhi*.

[2] *Ye karuṇākarā* cannot refer to Vijayabāhu, but only to *te mahāthere.*

[3] Lit. "one whose whole body was filled with . . ." The five kinds of joy are according to Childers (P. D. s. v. *pīti*) *khuddakā p.* "slight joy", *khaṇikā p.* "momentary joy", *akkantikā p.* "joy that comes like a sudden shock", *ubbegap.*, "transporting joy" (that will make you leap into the air) and *pharaṇap.*, "all-pervading joy".

[4] The King marches round the mountain with his attendants as a pilgrim walks round a holy place and has sacrificial ceremonies performed at the four cardinal points.

[5] P. *cakkhumano.* W's translation "with great delight" is too weak. We have here a formation like *hiṃsamano* Dh. 390 (DhCo. IV. 148 = *kodhamano*) "whose intention was the eye, that is gazing".

27 two relics of the Tooth and of the Almsbowl With a heart
as full of joy as if he had found a jewel like the wheel and
the rest[1] or a great treasure, or as if he had attained Nirvana,
28 the Sovereign took unto himself the two relics and blessed
like Mandhātai[2], he bore them with great celebrations from
29 village to village, from town to town and brought them to
the beautiful city of Jambuddoṇi where the pious people began
30 a great and splendid festival. Now while the wise King day
by day celebrated a great sacrificial ceremony for the relics,
31 he thought thus: "In order that if in future time another
interregnum[3] occurs, no evil from alien enemies shall befall
32 these relics of the Sage, I will carefully provide for them a still
33 more inaccessible place, fast and sure " Thus pondering he had the
Billasela[4] (mountain) made fast on every side with walls, gate-
34 towers and the like, that save by the gods in the air, it could
not be trodden by any human foes And on the summit of
the rock he built a superb temple for the Tooth Relic,
35 ravishing as a divine palace descended from the world of the
gods Around this he laid out a park for the community with
36 divers pāsādas and maṇḍapas, delightful for taking an airing
when passing the day or when passing the night therein,
37 provided with lakes and bathing-ponds In this relic temple
the wise (monarch) had the two relics, Tooth and Bowl, carefully
38 placed with great solemnity After making over the park for
the community to the faithful theras who were charged with

[1] P *cakkadiratanam* This refers to the seven jewels which belong to the *cakkavattin* or world ruler (cf CHILDERS, s v *ratana*), the first of these is *cakka* the wheel, as symbol of world dominion

[2] See 37 53 and note

[3] Should we not read *puna* instead of *pana* in 31 b, or is *pana* used with the same meaning?

[4] Now *Beligala* (so Pujāv, Rājāv and Rājaratn) This is the name of a hamlet in the Otara Pattuva of the Kegalla District and of a Korale in the same district The Beligala Korale is mentioned in the Kadaim pota (H C P BELL, Report on the Kegalla District, p 2) as well as in the Siri Laka kadayuru (H NEVILL The Taprobanian, June *1888*, p 55, 60) The rock of Beligala on which the relics were hidden resembles in isolation and steepness that of Yāpahu (*cf* BELL, *l l*, p. *25 ff*)

the care of the relics, he decreed a regular offering of alms.
Also he commanded that a sacrificial ceremony of surpassing 39
kind should be performed for the relics day by day in most
perfect fashion.

Now in his faith the Sovereign set about rendering helpful 40
service to the Order of the perfectly Enlightened One. If one
asks how (this was done), the account runs thus: Deeply 41
grieved in his heart that on the island of Laṅkā so many
books that dealt with the true doctrine had been destroyed
by the alien foe, the Ruler called together laymen endowed 42
with a good memory and with knowledge, pious, well instructed,
free from indolence and skilled in quick and fair writing, and 43
along with these, many other writers of books and made all these
write down in careful fashion the eighty-four thousand divisions 44
of the doctrine and made over to them in accordance with
the number of the divisions the like number of gold kahāpaṇas[1]. 45
He also performed a sacrificial festival for the doctrine and thus
heaped up a fulness of merit. The theras and the middle-aged 46
and young (bhikkhus) and also the sāmaṇeras in Tisīhala[2]
who had taken on themselves the burden of a life of discipline,
all these protectors of the teaching of the Master he gathered 47
together and made harmony where there had been discord.
And then the Monarch pondered thus: "The ceremony of 48
admission to the Order[3] is the foundation of the prosperity
of the Order. How would it be if I had it performed now in
the right way?" And joyful at heart, he endowed the whole vast 49
reunited community richly with the eight articles of necessity[4]
and made them hold for seven days the ceremony of admission 50
to the Order which was preceded by offerings and honours

[1] This account is extremely significant for the history of the tradition of the sacred texts in Ceylon. It is found also in Pūjāv., Rājāv. and Rājaratn.

[2] This expression which refers to the threefold division of the Island into Patiṭṭhāraṭṭha, Māyāraṭṭha and Rohaṇa and which frequently recurs, is used here for the first time. Cf. note to 81. 15.

[3] P. *upasampadā*.

[4] See note to 60. 71.

51 instituted by himself After the Ruler had laid out the park
known to the world by his name of Vijayasundara and destined
52 for the community[1], he made it over to them In his charitableness the Ruler thought "Bhikkhus and sāmaṇeras who
53 study the Tipiṭaka in faith and lead in every way the pious
life that springs from it, must never be troubled about their
54 livelihood They shall come to the gate of my house and
receive whatever articles of use they are in need of" And
he invited them full of reverence, and gave to the many
55 bhikkhus who came to the portals of his palace excellent and
56 costly offerings, well versed in giving Then the King ordered
further for all ascetics who had reached the rank of thera or
57 grand thera, regular maintenance[2] Thus in doing good to
the Order the Monarch naturally honoured thereby the triad
of the jewels — Buddha and the others

58 In Vattalagāma[3] the King had built for the bhikkhus in
a perfect manner the vihāra called after his own name
59 Vijayabāhu In the vihāra Kalyāṇi by name, the Ruler had
the vast and splendid cetiya which had been destroyed by the
60 Damila soldiers, made fast again and a golden finial put upon it,

[1] This monastery is also mentioned in Pūjav and Rajaratn as a foundation of Vijayabahu In Mhvs 85 90 it is called Sirivijayasundara It was situated in Jambuddoṇi

[2] In the Rajaratn which is particularly concerned with Vijayabāhu the following strophe is quoted in praise of the generosity of the King

Catuddisayatajinatrajanam
apanabhūtam gharam asi tassa
yadicchitappaccayalabhahetu
devaddumo vasi mahanubhavo

For those sons of the Victor who came from the four regions of the heavens his house became the refuge because there they received all articles of use as they wished Like a heavenly tree was the sublime one The heavenly tree is of course, the wishing tree (skr *kalpa druma*)

[3] The building of the Vijayabahu vihāra is also related in Pūjav, Rajāv and Rajaratn The village of Vattala lies on the right bank of the Kelaniganga a little above its mouth Thus it is not far from the Kelani vihara whose restoration is also mentioned in the Sinhalese chronicles

as well as a gate-tower on its eastern side. There too he restored 61
whatever was decayed in the image houses, the encircling wall
and the like and on all other (buildings). The King also gave 62
the order that all pāsādas, image-houses, vihāras, pariveṇas,
and likewise cetiyas, maṇḍapas, outer walls, gate-towers 63
and the like which were in Māyāraṭṭha, should be put into
the condition in which they were formerly, and that new
buildings should be erected.

Now as the King wished to accomplish himself still more for 64
the furtherance of the laity and of the Order, he reflected thus:
"At a time when I had already reached a great age and 65
youth had vanished, I gained the good fortune of the royal
dignity and have until now enjoyed it. Now after the destruction 66
of all the evil foes who still remain over after the conquest
and thereby to protect my people and after renewing the 67
structures of the destroyed and decayed vihāras to bring about
the furtherance of my people — for that I have now but a
short time." With such considerations the discerning Monarch 68
together with those people versed in the lore of signs, tested
the (bodily) signs of both of his own sons Parakkamabāhu 69
and Bhuvanekabāhu and attained this knowledge: "The signs
on Parakkamabāhu are such that he will in accordance there- 70
with accomplish through the majesty of his power the
destruction of the enemy and will unite all Laṅkā under one
umbrella, so that none shall be above him; and that he will 71
further the spotless Order of the Omniscient one; will spread his
fame over the chief and the intermediate regions of the heavens;
will receive from the most divers countries gifts as princesses for 72
his women's apartments and the like, and will be for long a
world ruler on the Island." When he realised this, with eyes 73
filled with tears of joy, he made him sit on his knee and kissed
him on the head. Then he gazed again and again full of love 74
on the younger prince, who stood near, gave them twain much
excellent advice, made them by training practised in all arts, 75
accomplishments and the like. Then the Ruler entrusted of 76
the twain his elder son to the assembled community at wh-
head stood the Grand master known name of

gharakkhita And again he entrusted the same (thera) with the two relics, the Tooth and the Almsbowl of the Sage,
78 as also with the whole Great community and also with the people dwelling in Lankā and ruled this himself in perfect fashion[1]
79 After the Sovereign had in this manner sowed the royal seed in the wide field of Lankā, he entered heaven after a reign of four years[2]
80 Even as this Ruler of men, Vijayabāhu, protected the entire world of the laity and the Order of the Victor, so should all future rulers of Lankā protect both, bestowing on them security

Here ends the eighty-first chapter, called «The Reign of One King», in the Mahāvamsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious

[1] The meaning is that the King made Samgharakkhita Head of the Church and entrusted him with the education of the heir to the throne As head of the Order Samgharakkhita had to look after the spiritual welfare of the people over whom the King exercised secular dominion

[2] According to Rajav the King had reigned 24 years But according to v 65 he only came to the throne at an advanced age

CHAPTER LXXXII

THE EXHIBITION OF THE MIRACLE OF THE TOOTH RELIC

After the death of his father King Parakkamabāhu 1
united the whole of the people who were in Tisīhala, adorned 2
the fair town and as if he were the peer of the King of the
gods, he first of all had the ceremony of the royal consecration
performed. On account of his learning he himself received 3
the famous name of Kalikāla-sāhicca-sabbaññupaṇḍita[1]. On 4
his younger brother Bhuvanekabāhu he conferred the dignity
of yuvarāja and made over to him a part of the kingdom.
With the thought: I will make the maiden Laṅkā my own, 5
to no other (shall she belong), he turned his proud spirit to
the destruction of the alien foe. He thought: in the first 6
place I will perform a sacrificial festival for the Tooth Relic
of the Sage, then will I go forth to war against the
Damiḷas, and with great pomp and ceremony he brought 7
the Tooth Relic from the Billa mountain to the splendid town
of Jambuddoṇi[2]. "I have the desire at every moment when I 8
think of it to worship the Tooth Relic with devotion at the
three periods of the day" — so thought the Ruler and had built 9
near his palace a fair and costly temple for the Tooth Relic.
In the midst of this the King had a splendid throne set up 10
and decked with a costly covering. Out of a large precious 11

[1] That is "the scholar who is entirely familiar with the literature of the Kali Age". The expression *sāhicca* "art of poetry, literary work" = skr. *sāhitya*, was until now absent from the dictionaries. The Kali Age (*kalikāla, kaliyuga*) is the last of the four ages, the one in which we are living.

[2] Thus too Pūjāv. According to Rājāv., the king had brought the relic from Jambuddoṇi to Samiddhipura.

stone the Ruler had a casket fashioned for the Tooth Relic
12 and again as receptacle for this a large, superb, costly jewel-
13 case of bright, valuable precious stones Then for five thousand
gold nikkhas[1] he had as receptacle for this case a second
14 splendid chest fashioned, and then again for twenty-five thousand
15 silver nikkhas a third chest Now when the King starting
with the relic temple, had adorned the town, and had devoutly
16 celebrated a great sacrificial ceremony for the Tooth Relic, he
took the Tooth in the lotus of his hand[2] and spake in the
midst of the Great community the following solemn declaration[3]
17 "Our sublime Buddha, god of the gods, the Sage, strong in
miraculous power visited this island of Lankā three times,
18 and that most supreme of men went away, having sojourned
here and there and having made of sixteen prominent places
19 spots hallowed by his use[4] Therefore it is that Lankā is not
under the power of kings of a false faith, but under the power
of kings of the true faith it flourishes in the right manner.
20 Aforetime also on this island the Ruler of men by name
Asela, son of the Ruler Mutasiva, wise in statecraft, conquered
21 the Damiḷas Sena and Guttaka who carried on horse-dealing[5]

[1] P *nikkha* or *nekkha* = ved *niska*, is a weight with which the precious metals are weighed According to Abhp 480, 888 it seems to be equal to 5 suvaṇṇas This would agree with the Indian reckoning which makes one niska (= 1 pala = 4 or 5 suvarṇas) equal to 56 875 gr The figures in our passage are certainly a fantastic exaggeration

[2] A frequent *rupaka* Cf Daṇḍin 66 (note to 80 60) *pāṇipadma*

[3] P *saccakriyaṃ aka* See note to 51 56

[4] P *pāribhogika* This is in the first place a term for relics which are reverenced as articles of use belonging to a saint, such as the alms bowl of the Buddha In contrast to these are the bodily (*sārīrika*) relics, as for instance the Tooth Relic Here places are called *pāribhogika* because the Buddha by use (*paribhogena*), by sojourning there had hallowed them The legend of Buddha's three visits to Lankā is related in Mhvs 1 The 16 places where according to tradition he sojourned on these occasions, are given by W in his translation p 277, note The most important are Mahiyangaṇa, Kelaniya, Adam's Peak, the sites of the various topes in Anuradhapura, Tissamahārāma etc.

[5] P *assanāvikaputte dve* W translates sons of the horse merchant which is also possible But *putta* may better be taken as a mere paraphrase as in *kammāraputta* etc Cf on the whole Mhvs 21 10 ff

by sea, and held sway while sheltering the Order of the
Victor. Then the famous Great king Duṭṭhagāmaṇī Abhaya 22
vanquished Eḷāra of the Coḷa country and protected the
laity and the Order. Again the Monarch Vaṭṭagāmaṇī 23
vanquished in combat five very cruel Damiḷa princes and
protected the laity and the Order. Then the Ruler of men, 24
Dhātusena, subdued six Damiḷa kings with their countless
great warriors, and sheltered the laity and the Order. Again 25
the great Vijayabāhu put to flight in battle the Coḷiyas and
the Damiḷas and protected the laity and the Order. Now I 26
too have the wish to vanquish the insolent Damiḷas who have
destroyed vihāras and other buildings and also the Order of
the Master and still have their abode in Patiṭṭhāraṭṭha[1], 27
the twain, King Māgha and Jayabāhu[2], and to further the
laity and the Order. That is a true word and yet more I say: 28
the highly virtuous, far-famed monarchs with the Kosala king 29
at the head, heard from the mouth of the Master while he
lived, the preaching of the doctrine and saw many a miracle
and their wishes were (thereby) fulfilled. Rulers mighty in 30
miraculous power like Dhammāsoka and the others who were
born when the fully Enlightened One no longer lived, beheld 31
divers miracles like the figure of the perfectly Enlightened
One[3] produced (in miraculous manner) and the like, and made
each his life thereby rich in fruit. But when the Guide of 32
the worlds, having fulfilled the task of a Buddha, in the
region of the Mallas, outstretched on the couch of great

[1] See note to 81. 15. The Sinhalese form of the name is Pihiṭiraṭa.

[2] It is clear that the reign of Vijayabāhu III. and the beginning of his son's reign fall within the 21 years assigned to Māgha in 80. 79. The usurper Jayabāhu has so far not been mentioned, both names are in the Pūjāv. however.

[3] What is meant are miracles such as that described in Mhvs. 31. 96 ff. As Duṭṭhagāmaṇī is about to replace the relics in the Mahāthūpa the casket in which they are contained, rises in the air, opens of itself and the relics assume the form of the Buddha and perform the miracle which was performed by the Master under Gaṇḍa's mango tree in Sāvatthī. For the so-called *yamakappāṭihāriya* see DhCo. III. p. 206 ff.

33 Nirvana, came, as regards miracles, to the five great resolves[1],
then assuredly the Exalted One came also to lesser resolves
34 From that day to this all the relics which exist, those of the
body, as those associated with articles of use, perform through
35 the power of the Master miracles here in this our world
When therefore the Guide of sages, coming to this and that
36 resolve, saw (in spirit) in the five thousand years' duration
of his Order, the future monarchs who take upon themselves
37 the burden of faith and of moral discipline, then I think not
that the Exalted One will not with the eye of omniscience
have seen me also among them But if I have been seen by
38 the Incomparable One[2], if even I have been added to the
number of these great men and rulers of antiquity — loyal to
39 the faith in every respect — if I after destroying the alien foe
in terrible war, may accomplish the furtherance of the laity
40 and the Order, then may the Tooth Relic now perhaps make
manifest to me a fair miracle" After these words he became
lost in contemplation
41 At this moment the Tooth Relic rose from the lotus of
his hand, like to the crescent moon, in the air, assumed the
42 glorious form of the Prince of the wise, diffused clusters
of rays of light sixfold in hue, illumined the whole town,
43 manifested thus a glorious miracle, enraptured the Ruler
of men, returned from the air and settled again on his hand
44 With the shouts of applause and the songs of praise of the
great crowd of people and above all of the Great community
45 who rejoiced at the sight of the superb miracle of the relic,
the whole town was at this time everywhere full of intense
46 excitement "This day I have gained life, this day my life
has become of worth, this day hurrah! my life has become
47 perfectly fruitful Having by the power of my merit beheld
to-day such a miracle and having also seen the blessing

[1] For the *mahadhitthanapancaka* see Mhvs 17 46 ff In vv 51—52 the miracle mentioned in the preceding note is foretold here The lesser resolves refer to other miracles not included in the five great resolves such as that expected now by the king

[2] P *tadina* of him who is so as he is and no other

of merit richly earned by the people[1], I now have been enrolled 48
among those earlier rulers of men, famed for the fulness of
their virtues in this Order of the Sage." With these words 49
the Great king, great in insight and miraculous power, gave
forth a lion's roar in the midst of the vast assembly.

After the Ruler with the whole of his sixty-four 50
ornaments[2], such as the diadem, the bracelet and so forth
had made an offering to the Tooth Relic, he laid it carefully 51
in the jewel-casket and after placing this lustrous (casket)
in the golden chest he again placed this carefully in the fair 52
and costly chest fashioned of silver.

The Tooth Relic thus preserved in the best way in three 53
chests one within the other, he then placed in his relic temple.
For seven days long he celebrated with the (offering of the)
seven kinds of precious articles[3], with great wreaths and
perfumes and with all kinds of food solid and liquid a great
sacrificial festival.

Here ends the eighty-second chapter, called «The Exhibition of the Miracle of the Tooth Relic», in the Mahāvaṃsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

[1] The blessing consists in the sight of the miracle taking place before the eyes of all and of the effects which proceed from it. The MSS. have *saṃbhataṃ puññasampadaṃ* and so has my edition. The Col. Ed. alters it to *°bhatā °padā*, but *°bhataṃ °padaṃ* is acc. case and depends, like *pāṭihāriyaṃ* on *disvā*. By the power of his merit the King has seen the miracle and he has also seen the blessing of the people's merit which shows itself therein that they were found worthy of the same vision as the king.

[2] Cf. for this E. W. Perera, Ceylon Notes and Queries, III. April 1914, p. XXXVI ff., where the enumeration of the regalia in the Sinhalese Thūpavaṃsa is discussed.

[3] P. *ratanehi sattahi.* The seven *ratanāni* are: *suvaṇṇa* (gold), *rajata* (silver), *muttā* (pearls), *maṇi* (precious stones like sapphire and ruby), *veḷuriya* (a semi-precious stone (?) like cat's eye), *vajira* (diamond), *parāḷa* (coral). See Childers, s. v.

CHAPTER LXXXIII

THE STORY OF THE SUBJUGATION OF THE HOSTILE KINGS

1 Since all the inhabitants of Lankā had seen the effect of
the merits of the King, they lived from that time onward
2 filled with still greater reverence towards him, in fear, in joy
and in love, never were they capable of transgressing his
3 commands All the sovereigns of the divers countries sent the
King gifts, since their hearts were inclined to admiration of
his majesty

4 People whose heads were to be cut off he punished only
in stern fashion with dungeon and fetters[1] and then set them
5 free again But for such people as deserved prison the Ruler to
whom pity was the highest, ordained some lighter punishment[2]
6 or other, and reprimanded them But on people who should
have been banished from the country the Ruler who might
be likened to Manu, laid but a fine of a thousand (kahāpaṇas)
7 But on all those who deserved a fine, he looked with indignation and with all sorts of words of rebuke he made of
them honest men

8 Then all these people, the forces of the foe in Lankā who
abiding in forest strongholds and elsewhere, had become
9 unconquerable by his father, the hero vanquisher of foes, the
King set about subjugating by the power of his majesty and

[1] *Kuragārabandhanamattato* cannot be joined to *parimocayi* In this case *puna* would be quite unintelligible It belongs far rather to *nigganhitvana*

[2] I think that *niggaham kañ ca vā* as well as *nigganhitvāna* in v 4 must mean a p u n i s h m e n t and not a mere admonition This is expressed by *oradi* in v 5c But the punishment was always less severe than the guilty person had deserved The same also in v 6 and 7 In *niggaha*

by the might of his loving spirit[1]. The Sīhala kings in the 10
land of the Vanni who were equipped with army and train,
he brought completely under his influence, sitting merely on his
lion's throne[2]. All the Sīhalas with their lion-like courage who 11
dwelt in Tisīhala[3], these all the Ruler of men assembled around
him and made them content. Then he dared to overthrow 12
the great Damiḷa warriors who building great fortresses, had
settled here and there in the country. Of all the Sīhalas who 13
on the field were as lions against rutting elephants — the
enemy — he sent some hither, others thither. The great 14
Sīhala warriors wherever they came, harassed the Damiḷa
warriors as the Garuḷas the Nāgas[4].

At that time the Damiḷa kings, Māghinda and Jayabāhu[5] 15
had set up fortifications in the town of Pulatthi(nagara),
famous for its wealth, in the village of Koṭṭhasāra[6], in
Gaṅgātaḷāka[7], in the village of Kākālaya[8], in the Padī district 16
and in Kurundi[9], in Mānāmatta, in Mahātittha and in the
harbour of Mannāra[10], at the landing-place of Pulacceri and 17
in Vālikagāma, in the vast Gona district and in the Gonusu
district, at Madhupādapatittha and at Sūkaratittha[11]: at these 18

vācā (v. 7 c) *niggaha* it is true, means "rebuke". That is after all the mildest punishment.

[1] Thus by force or by kindness. As regards the construction of the sentence, *paripanthīnaṃ balaṃ* should probably be taken as in apposition to *sabbe vanaduggādinissite*.

[2] Without recourse to force, merely by his prestige as sovereign. For the Vanni cf. note to 81. 11.

[3] See note to 81. 46.

[4] See note to 75. 38. [5] Cf. 82. 27.

[6] Situated not far from Pulatthinagara. See note to 61. 43.

[7] Now Kantalai, see note to 70. 286.

[8] "Crow's Home". The name does not otherwise occur.

[9] The two names appear again in 88. 64 next to each other. In the Siri Laka-kaḍayuru (The Taprobanian 1888, p. 55) they are noted among the districts of the Pihiṭi-raṭa (Patiṭṭhā-raṭṭha).

[10] Now Mantai and Mannar. See notes to 48. 81 and 61. 39.

[11] Of the six last localities only Madhupādapatittha is mentioned once more. It may be assumed that like the foregoing places, they were all situated in Northern Ceylon.

19 and other places, and committing all kinds of violent deeds, had
20 stayed there a long time Their forty and four thousand
soldiers, Damilas and Keralas, who hard pressed by the spear-
21 armed Sīhala warriors, were unable to resist, came terror-
stricken to Pulatthinagara and held counsel thus as to their
22 future conduct "King Parakkamabāhu is of high majesty
and has miraculous power Who in the world is strong enough
23 to neglect his commands? Even the monarchs of foreign lands
24 have now come under his influence, also all the Sīhalas Even
some of us Damilas are his followers What is the use of
25 words about others? But what, what shall we people do? Now
we have all become dim like glow-worms at the rising of the
26 radiant sun Therefore in the future it is impossible for us
to take up our abode on the Sīhala island, we will go to
27 another country" They took all their elephants and horses,
as well as their pearls and costly precious stones, the royal
28 diadems and all the beauties of the harem, all ornaments,
cloths, mantles, baskets and every kind of valuable with them
29 in their fear and began to leave the town But owing to the
action of the King's merit they mistook the regions of the
30 heavens They thought it was the eastern gate and marched
31 out through the western gate[2] and came to Kalavāpi where
the army of the Sīhalas had set up an entrenched camp
32 With all their goods they had alas[1] also to sacrifice their life
by each giving his to the Sīhala warriors, thus carrying out
33 themselves what the King had only thought And all the Sīhalas
taking from them their accumulated treasures, became from this
34 time onward rich people[3], as in ancient times all the dwellers

[1] Vv 15—21 form one sentence The construction is as follows The 40000 soldiers of the two Damila kings who after erecting fortifications in such and such places had been settled there for a long time came and held counsel

[2] The mistake of the Damilas is of course nothing but a fiction of the compiler The intention of the mercenaries was to reach the western coast with their booty and there cross to India At Kalavāpi the Sīhalas intercepted them Pujav gives the same account of the occurence as the Cūlavs Rajav a different one

[3] P *samjanna* of pregnant significance in allusion to the *sampadam* following in v 31

in Mithilā who gained the wealth which the kings a hundred
in number, had through fear flung away[1]. After thus ac- 35
complishing by his power the crushing of the alien foe, he
set himself to bring about the prosperity of all Laṅkā.
When the eleventh year of the reign of this King had 36
arrived, a king of the Jāvakas known by the name of
Candabhānu landed with a terrible Jāvaka army under the 37
treacherous pretext that they also were followers of the Buddha[2].
All these wicked Jāvaka soldiers who invaded every landing- 38
place and who with their poisoned arrows, like to terrible
snakes, without ceasing harassed the people whomever they 39
caught sight of, laid waste, raging in their fury, all Laṅkā.
Just as flashes of lightning with floods of water (visit) a place 40
destroyed by lightning with flames of fire[3], so Laṅkā which
had been harassed by Māgha and others was ravaged anew
by the Jāvakas. Then the King sent forth his sister's son, 41
the heroic Prince Vīrabāhu, with soldiers to fight the Jāvakas.
The fearful Rāhu, namely Vīrabāhu, with his terrible appearance 42
completely destroyed (the moonlight, namely) Candabhānu in
the fields of heaven, namely in the battle[4]. He placed his 43

[1] Cf. W., note to this passage. The story alluded to here is related in the Ummaggajātaka (Fausböll, Jāt. VI. 389 ff.). Through the cleverness of the Bodhisatta the inhabitants of Mithilā capture the possessions of 101 kings against whom they had been fighting. Cf. Jāt. VI. 409[24]: *tato paṭṭhāya ca kira Mithilavāsino sahiraññā jātā.* To get the proper construction in our passage the words *yathā purā* must be joined to the following and not to the preceding as is done by W., for which an *iva* or *yathā* in v. 34 would be indispensable.

[2] P. *sogatā*, followers of the Sugata, the guide to the path of salvation. The Pūjāv. also mentions Candrabhānu as the leader of the Jāvakas. According to Rājāv. his soldiers were Damiḷas.

[3] The *pāvakāsanī* and the *nīrāsanī* are contrasted. Both are devastating thunderstorms. In the one case it is the kindling flashes of lightning that cause the destruction, in the other the floods of rain causing inundations. W's translation "fury of a flood of water" and "fire and lightning" seems to me weak, as it takes *asani* at first in its derived and the second time in its original signification.

[4] A picture suggested by the name of Candabhānu ("Moonshine"). Rāhu is the demon who causes the eclipses. We have again to do with

heroic Sīhala soldiers here and there and began to open fight
44 with the Jāvaka warriors. The good Sīhala warriors, sure in
aim, the archers, shattered in pieces with their sharply pointed
45 arrows, in the battle the countless number of arrows whizzing
against them with their poisoned tips which were shot swiftly
one after the other by the Jāvaka soldiers from a machine[1].
46 *Going forth to the combat like Rāma, Prince Vīrabāhu slew*
47 numbers of Jāvakas, as Rāma (slew) the Rakkhasas. The
Veramba wind[2], namely Vīrabāhu, possessed of great vehemence,
shattered again and again the forest wilderness, namely the
48 Jāvaka foes. After thus putting to flight the Jāvakas in
combat, he freed the whole region of Laṅkā from the foe.
49 Hereupon he betook himself to Devanagara, worshipped there
the lotus-hued god[3] and celebrated for him a divine sacrifice.
50 He had erected there a pariveṇa that was intended for the
Order; it received the name of Nandana[4], since it was the
51 delight of the people. Thereupon he turned and came to the
town Jambuddoṇi, he sought out Parakkamabāhu, and he
was overjoyed.

compounds of the *rūpaka* order (skr. *Vīrabahur eva Rahuḥ*). See notes to 80 60, 82. 16. According to the Rājāv. however, it was not the sister's son but the younger brother of the King, who vanquished Candabhānu.

[1] P *yantamutte (baṇe)* Something apparently like the ancient catapult. Mhvs. 72. 251 mentions huge stones being hurled from such machines.

[2] *Veramba* is the name given to strong winds which blow in great heights (cf. PTS P D. s. v.). The corresponding word in Skr. is *vairambha*. A synonym for *verambavāta* is *kalavata*.

[3] That is "the blue coloured". Name of Viṣṇu Cf 85 85 ff. Devanagara (or-pura) is the present Dondra, Sinh. Devundara The place has been already mentioned in 60. 59 and 75. 47, but here for the first time we have a notice of the shrine of Viṣṇu celebrated in the Middle Ages. According to tradition it was built in 790 A. D It was plundered and destroyed by the Portuguese in 1588 A. D. See P. E Pieris, Ceylon and the Portuguese, (= P. 2) p. 109 f. It is significant that Vīrabāhu offered his sacrifice of victory in a Hindu sanctuary At the same time however, he builds a pariveṇa for the Buddhist Order, thus putting his attitude towards their parity beyond doubt. Even to day a Hindu *devālaya* and a Buddhist *vihāra* stand side by side in Dondra.

[4] That is "joy, delight, ecstasy".

Now after he had thus carried on divers great wars and after he had scattered the terrible crowd of all his foes, the great and mighty Sovereign Parakkamabāhu attained the fame of victory[1]. 52

Here ends the eighty-third chapter, called «The Story of the Subjugation of the Hostile Kings», in the Mahāvaṃsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

[1] South Indian inscriptions give an essentially different picture of the reign of Parakkamabāhu II. from our chronicle. According to these, Ceylon was invaded by the Pāṇḍyas about the middle of the 13th century. They say that of the kings of Ceylon one was killed and another forced to pay tribute. This shows that Parakkama never united the whole island under his dominion. H. W. Codrington, HC. p. 77, 87.

CHAPTER LXXXIV

THE SERVICES RENDERED TO THE ORDER

1 Thereupon the Ruler, versed in the ordinances of Manu,
caused to be determined to what families the villages, fields,
2 houses and so forth long since seized by the alien foe, belonged
by heredity, and had them returned to their aforetime owners
3 as before. Then he caused to be determined which villages,
parks and the like were the property of the Buddha and the
Doctrine, which (were) the assigned maintenance villages (for
4 ordinary needs), which the villages belonging to the Chapters,
which the villages which were personal possessions, which
(were) the villages of the eight sanctuaries[1] and the villages
5 of the pariveṇas and had them given back Further he appointed
the five groups of menials and the ten groups of menials
belonging to the royal household and determined their rank[2].
6 While the Ruler made all the inhabitants of Laṅkā wealthy
and possessors of fortune, he took care that the whole country
7 had abundant food All the corrupt groups (of bhikkhus) who
since the Interregnum lived only for their own desires, *following*
forbidden occupations[3], with senses ever unbridled, he sought
8 out rigourously, dismissed them (from the Order) and thus
9 purified the *Order of the perfectly Enlightened One* Then
the King sent many gifts to the Cola country[4] and caused to
be brought over to Tambapaṇṇi many respected Cola bhikkhus

[1] P *atthayatanagamake* It is difficult to say what is meant by this For the explanation we must look above all to v 17 f

[2] See Mhvs 67 58 and note

[3] Professions which are not fitting for the samana are enumerated in Dīgha Nik I 1. 10 (= I p 5) Cf R O Franke, Dīgha Transl p 7, n 2

[4] The same account in Pūjāv

who had moral discipline and were versed in the three Piṭakas 10
and so established harmony between the two Orders[1].
Then when the Ruler learned that among the many high- 11
principled bhikkhus dwelling permanently in Tambaraṭṭha[2]
there was a Grand thera, Dhammakitti[3] by name, radiant in 12
the glory of moral discipline, and that once when this thera
was on his mendicant round, a lotus flower had blossomed on 13
his path, he was filled with admiration and sent a religious
gift, incense, sandal-wood, food and the like which had been
in contact with the Tooth Relic and likewise a choice and 14
princely gift[4] to Tambaraṭṭha. He made the Grand thera 15
come to the island of Laṅkā, rejoiced again and again, as if
he had beheld[5] the Perfect One, celebrated for him a great 16
sacrificial festival and provided him who was a (worthy)
vessel for offerings and honours[6], in careful manner with an
offering of the four necessaries. Now in order to provide 17
for the protection of the Order furthered by him, the Great
king built round about his capital for the eight Grand theras 18
who dwelt in the eight sanctuaries[7] and for the discerning
theras dwelling in villages or in the wilderness of the forest,

[1] These are the Hīnayāna and the Mahāyāna. The first school had its principal seat in the Mahāvihāra, the second according to Mhvs. 78. 21 ff., in the Abhayagiri and Jetavana vihāras. Cf. also W., note to the passage. See now S. Paranavitane, Mahāyānism in Ceylon, C. J. Sc. G. II. 1, p. 35 ff.

[2] Probably a province in Southern India. Pūjāv. has instead Tambalingum. It would appear from the Rājāv. that Candrabhānu came from Tambalingum. So also H. W. Codrington, HC., p. 77.

[3] The name of Dhammakitti recurs several times. According to Wickremasinghe, Catalogue of Sinhalese MSS. in the Brit. Mus. p. 21 b, 35 b, the Dhammakitti of this passage was the compiler of the first continuation of the Mahāvaṃsa.

[4] W's translation "and other royal gifts" is incorrect. Here *dhammapābhata* and *rājapābhata* are contrasted with one another.

[5] Not as W. has it: "as if he had seen an Araha". Pūjāv. has *budun rahatan duṭurā sē*.

[6] *Pūjasakkārabhājanaṃ* belongs to *taṃ* in 16 d. For the figurative meaning of °*bhājana* cf. note to Mhvs. 44. 70.

[7] See above note to v. 4.

19 many communal monasteries, suitable for dwelling in, extensive
embellished with divers pāsādas, provided with various maṇḍapas,
20 furnished with divers bathing-ponds, adorned with cloisters which
were places of sojourn by day and by night, surrounded by
21 a series of flower parks and tree parks and granted them to
them Further he celebrated with all articles of equipment a
22 great sacrificial festival Thereupon the King gathered together
the Great community of the (bhikkhus) dwelling in villages and
in the wilderness of the forest and chose out all those who
strove continually for the keeping pure of moral discipline,
23 those who took upon themselves pious duties and were tried
in the leading of their life in the strictest way[1], who were
endowed with the virtues of renunciation and so forth and
24 were steadfast in the precepts for the conscientious He built
for them on the heights of the Puṭabhatta[2] rock a forest
dwelling, assigned it to them and supported them therewith
25 As they made of the strictest conduct a reality, he made
Lankā through them in his days as it were, an abode of
26 arahants With the reflection that theras who were acquainted
with the sacred texts were rare in the Island, he had all books
27 brought from Jambudīpa, had many bhikkhus instructed in
the sacred texts, as also in all sciences, such as philosophy,
grammar and the like and thus made of them cultivated people
28 In this manner furthering conduct and learning, the wise
(prince) honoured with such a religious sacrifice the Guide to
29 the path of salvation (Buddha) The Ruler caused his
younger royal brother, Bhuvanekabahu by name, to be in-
30 structed, so that he was versed in the three Piṭakas He
made him carry out the precepts for the theras and *hold*
lectures of instruction thereon But to the many bhikkhus who
31 hearkened he granted in the midst of the Great community
their appointment as theras, and presenting them with all
articles of equipment, he celebrated an offering for the theras
32 Seeking for an occasion fraught with blessing, in order to

[1] P *lukhappaṭipatti* cf v 25 The compound is missing in the PTS P D

[2] In Pujav Palabatgal

reach by the noble eight-fold path the saving shore from the
ocean of re-births[1], he had built in the third and sixth, then 33
again in the eleventh, twelfth and seventeenth, as also in the 34
twenty-first, twenty-seventh and thirtieth years of his reign
thus eight times, a vast hall (resting) on sixty pillars[2]. Round 35
about it he erected a great and splendid maṇḍapa. This again
he had adorned with divers coloured stuffs and made numerous 36
groups of bhikkhus abide there by turn for the purpose of
rest. Day by day full of zeal, he did them honour with a 37
great festival of gifts in his name and granted to many
sāmaṇeras admission to the Order. Then following on this, he 38
conferred on bhikkhus the highest rank, namely the dignity
of a thera, Grand thera and the like[3], and accumulating many 39
important wares[4] of great value and many beautiful articles
of equipment even to the measure of a king of elephants, 40
the Ruler first presented to those who had attained the
rank of a Grand thera, articles of equipment worthy of a king
and then allotted to all the ascetics who were theras and to 41
those who had been dismissed from the dependance on a
teacher[5], and to the others in their order, the eight articles
of equipment[6].

[1] The section v. 32 to 41 is absent in the Pūjāv. The *aṭṭhaṅjikamagga* consists of the eight members: *sammādiṭṭhi* "right insight", *sammāsaṃkappa* "right thought", *sammāvācā* "right speech", *sammākammanta* "right doing," *sammāājīva* "right gaining of livelihood", *sammāvāyāma* "right endeavour", *sammāsati* "right deliberation", *sammāsamādhi* "right spiritual concentration."

[2] The same 89. 49.

[3] W. renders *āyatanādika* as title along with *thera* and *mahāthera* "incumbent of temple". But this seems to be contradicted by v. 40 *mahātherāyatanaṭṭhāna* "rank of a Grand thera." *Āyatana* must therefore be combined with *thera* and *mahāthera* in v. 38.

[4] P. *garubhaṇḍa* also 85. 105.

[5] P. *nissaya*. By this is understood the relation between an older bhikkhu, the *upajjhāya* and a younger, the *antevāsin*. The first has to instruct the second in all details of the monastic life and the younger must take the older as his model. He who has finished his course of instruction is *nissayamutta*.

[6] See note to 60. 71.

42 Thus the King, the best of men, celebrated every seven days the great and superb festival of the eight bestowals[1]
43 and later celebrating several times over the festival of admission into the Order, he made the Order of the Victor prosperous
44 Thus the King by granting it in this way manifold support, caused as the moon[2] the ocean, the good Order of the Tathagata — the king of the true doctrine — to grow in perfect fashion

Here ends the eighty fourth chapter, called «The Services Rendered to the Order», in the Mahavamsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious

[1] The expression *atthopasampatti* must refer to the offering of the *attha parikkhara* (v 41) *Upasampatti* is not the same as *upasampadā* admission to the Order It is to this festival which took place later (*paccha*) that v 43 alludes In 89 50 *upasampatti* is also used in connection with the distribution of articles of use to the bhikkhus while the celebration of the *upasampada* takes place later (v 63)

[2] P *sudhakara* skr the same lit mine of nectar Cf for this verse E W Perera The Sinhalese and Spring Tides in Ceylon Notes and Queries I Oct 1913 p XVI

CHAPTER LXXXV

THE PERFORMANCE OF ALL KINDS OF PIOUS WORKS

Hereupon the Ruler of men built in the splendid, incom- 1
parable, glorious town, by name Sirivaḍḍhana[1], his birthplace,
a vihāra exceeding rich and vast[2]. It was furnished with 2
pāsādas and maṇḍapas and with high walls and gate-towers,
adorned with bodhi trees, with cetiyas, with groves and image
houses, bright with all kinds of paintings[3] and embellished 3
over and over with ornaments. Then he had the stretch of 4
road from the town of Jambuddoṇi to the town of Sirivaḍḍhana
levelled in the length of half a yojana and the breadth of an
usabha[4], so that it was fair as the surface of a drum, and 5

[1] It is now generally recognized that this Sirivaḍḍhana has nothing to do with Kandy (cf. Copleston, The Identification of the Sirivaḍḍhanapura of Mahāwansa, Chap. LXXXV., JRAS. C. B. XII, Nr. 43, 1892, p. 206 ff.). It was situated according to v. 4 only half a yojana from Jambuddoṇi-Dambadeniya. All my MSS. have in v. 4 *aḍḍhayojana°*, not *aṭṭhayojana°* which must be assumed, if we adopt W's translation: "about eight yojanas". If the *yojana* of the Mhvs. is the usual Indian *yojana*, then the distance between the two towns is about 4 1/2 miles. Pūjāv., if the printed text can be relied on, has *aṭayodanak*.

[2] P. *visālavibhavaṃ* ("possessing great riches") *mahāvihāraṃ*. There is just a doubt whether we have to take the subst. as appellative or with W. as a proper name. I adopt the former and that with reference to the Pūjāv. where we have *rajamahaveherak* "one great King's Monastery". Thus we must of course read in v. 56 not *Mahā°* but *mahā°*.

[3] P. *nānākammavicitta*; cf. *cittakamma* "varied painting".

[4] In the line *dīghavitthārato aḍḍhayojanūsabhamatthake* the *aḍḍhayojana* refers evidently to *dīgha* and *usabha* to *vitthāra*. The first is the length, the second the breadth of the road. An *usabha* is equal to 20 *yaṭṭhi* = 140 *ratana* or *hattha*, (roughly = 18 inches), thus 210 ft. = 64 metres. The Pūjāv. gives a very detailed description of the festival of the transference of the relics to the new monastery.

caused it to be strewn throughout its length with fine white
6 sand and adorned on both sides with many flags and pennons
strung high by which the sun s rays were warded off, with
7 rows of banana stems and with numbers of filled jars which
contained decorations of flowers and were fair with their
8 bright painting On the whole of this free tract he had erected
9 at a distance of every five cubits a royal arch and at a distance
of every ten cubits an arch of stuff as well as at a distance
of every hundred cubits[1] a large pāsada covered with variegated
10 painting, with a high point, three-storeyed and furnished with
11 an image of the perfectly Enlightened One[2] Then he decorated
the vihāra[3] round about the walled-in district of the monastery
12 with many and vast arches which were fair by reason of their
variety and gleamed with the grace of the arch of the King
of the gods[4], — further with white umbrellas which resembled
13 the picture of the full moon, — with banners five-fold in hue
and of divers form, which were fair as heavenly dancers who
14 dance in the court of the atmosphere — with rows of maṇḍapas
set with jewels that sparkled everywhere, which possessed the
beauty of a series of many palaces descended from the world
15 of the gods — with rows of figures of Brahma that danced
in lines holding white umbrellas and were beautiful because
16 they were worked by a mechanism[5], — with divers hued
mechanical figures of the gods which moved to and fro with

[1] Thus at distances of 7½ 15 and 150 ft *Torana* means the arch spanning the street on festive occasions As to *pattatorana* we must think of the framework of bamboo stalks as being covered with coloured stuffs We are not told what the *rajatorana* looked like

[2] From *tato* (end of v 3) to v 10 one sentence Pred and subj are at the end The King erected 1) rajatoraṇam 2) paṭṭatoraṇam 3) mahapasadam on the levelled surface (*samilatatale*) between J and S To the loc *tale* belong the attributes in 5 cd and in 7 d (*alamkate*) to this last belong the instrs in v 6 and 7 In v 8 the loc *samikatatale* is rendered collective by *etasmim vipulokāse*

[3] I anticipate obj and pred in 19 d

[4] The rainbow is considered Indra s weapon Stress is once more laid on the variegated colouring of the toraṇas

[5] Lit. beautiful by the contrivance of a machine

hands folded before the brows, — with rows of mechanical 17
figures of horses which ran hither and thither and possessed
the grace of rows of raging waves of the sea, — with elephants 18
wearing the ornaments of elephants, which were (likewise)
mechanical figures feigning to be clouds descended to the
earth: — with all these and other votive offerings which called 19
forth ecstasy in people he embellished the vihāra. Then again 20
he made the whole of the inhabitants in Laṅkā take up their
position in a circle round the vihāra, filling the space of a
gāvuta[1] and giving forth shouts of praise, and glorified the 21
virtues of the perfectly Enlightened One. To these (he added) 22
the bhikkhus and the sāmaṇeras as also the lay brethren and
the lay sisters, bearing flowers destined as offerings for the festival
of the Buddha and (lastly) all the other men and women who 23
were acquainted with the merits of the three (sacred) objects[2],
with votive offerings in their hands, adorned with all their
ornaments. Thereupon the Monarch himself decked out in all 24
his ornaments, accompanied by his four-membered army, urged
by his faith, placed the two relics, the Tooth and the Bowl, on 25
a costly chariot, adorned with every kind of chariot ornament.
Then one by one he had displayed before him[3] divers votive
offerings, such as flags of gold and flags of silver, golden 26
vessels and silver vessels, fly-whisks of gold and fly-whisks
of silver, chests of gold as also silver chests, golden fans and 27
charming silver fans, golden bowls with lotus flowers[4] and 28
bowls of silver with lotus flowers, filled jars[5] which were 29
fashioned of gold and such as were fashioned of silver and
so on; and afterwards holding a great sacrificial festival with 30

[1] See note to 73. 154.

[2] See note to 37. 214.

[3] P. *purato pantiso* (v. 29), that is in single groups or divisions before he himself started.

[4] P. *pokkharaṇī*, i. e. "lotus-pond". We must imagine the basins in which the flowers were borne as being oblong in form like small bathing-ponds.

[5] In the *puṇṇakalasā* which are either carried or set up on festive occasions one sees now specially often the yellow-gold blossoms of the areca palm.

31 these divers (offerings)[1] ever and again to the sound of the
five musical instruments[2], he by degrees brought (the relics)
on this decked out road to the town of Sirivaḍḍhana. After
32 carefully laying them down in the midst of the vihāra in a
spacious maṇḍapa on a covered Buddha seat, he set about
33 making the various people[3] celebrate a sacrificial festival. In
the morning all people who had a true thirst[4] for meritorious
works, adorned with their ornaments, venerated the Tooth
34 Relic and the Bowl Relic in religious devotion[5], with divers
kinds of flowers, such as jasmin, campaka blossoms, the blossoms
of the ironwood tree[6] and the like, distinguished by their
colour and perfume, and which were mingled with flowers of
35 gold. They venerated them with heaps of aromatic rice which
gleamed like a collection of the long since amassed fame of
36 the Great king. They venerated them with divers kinds of
fruits, such as bananas, bread-fruit, mangoes and so forth,
which were quite ripe, fragrant, lovely in colour, perfectly
37 sweet. Then afterwards when the King himself had venerated
the two most holy relics with all kinds of votive offerings, he
38 likewise, true to the good custom, provided the bhikkhu
community carefully with food and drink, with dishes solid
and tender, with drinks that one sips and with those one
39 drinks[7]. Thereupon the Ruler, joyful in heart, distributed to
many hundreds of bhikkhus the eight articles of equipment

[1] P. *tehi tehi* (possibly *pantiso* also) belongs to the following *kārāpento mahāpūjaṃ*.

[2] The five instruments are enumerated in Abhp. 139 ff. They are *ātata*, *vitata* and *ātatavitata*, drums stretched "on the one side", "on the two sides" and "wholly with leather", *susira*, "flute, pipe", and *ghana* "cymbal".

[3] The various groups of people enumerated in v. 21—23.

[4] P. *puññasoṇḍa*. The word *soṇḍa* "drunkard" used here in a figurative sense, as also in *dhammasoṇḍatā*, Jāt. V. 482[17] (PTS. P. D. s. v.).

[5] P. *bhattiyā*, see note to 74. 243.

[6] P. *jāti*, jasminum grandiflorum, *campaka*, michelia champaca, *nāga*, mesua ferrea.

[7] *Khajjabhojjehi* is the more detailed explanation of *anna* and *leyyapeyyehi* that of *pāna* in the compound *annapānehi*.

in great abundance. After that throughout the three watches 40
of the night he had the whole space round about the vihāra
lit up with many hundreds of thousands of lamps burning
fragrant oil, with lovely festoons of numberless, tiny, camphor 41
lamps (so that it was) like to the starry firmament. The 42
Monarch instituted a sacrificial for the Buddha[1]. The festival
was ravishing by reason of the many exquisite dances and 43
songs of the dancers who on splendid stages[2] erected here
and there, performed while assuming different characters[3],
divers dances and sang various songs. The noise[4] of the 44
festival was increased by the sound of the five musical
instruments[5] which produced the illusion of the roar of the 45
great ocean of his meritorious works[6] that was so strong that
it surpassed[7] the booming of the sea, while the drums shamed
the thunder-claps of Pajjunna[8]. The feast resounded with the 46
pious voices of the preachers of the good doctrine who placing
themselves on the preachers' seats carefully spread at divers
spots by the faithful, laid hold of the beautiful fans[9] and 47
preached the good doctrine that went straight to the heart of

[1] Subj., pred. and obj. *mahīpālo buddhapūjaṃ pavattayi* stand at the close of the whole sentence in v. 51 cd. The preceding verses contain attributes to the object *buddhapūjaṃ*, namely *manoharaṃ* (v. 42-3), *vivaḍḍhitaṃ* (v. 44-5), *ghositaṃ* (v. 46-7), *maṇḍitaṃ* (v. 48-9), *pasatthaṃ* (v. 50-51).

[2] P. *raṅgamaṇḍala* = sinh. *raňgamaḍala.*

[3] What is meant are the different parts they play. The dances are always mimic in character.

[4] The term "noise" must be supplemented from the foregoing. In the text itself there is only *vivaḍḍhitaṃ* directly related to *pūjaṃ.*

[5] See above note to v. 30-31.

[6] Very doubtful. I take *bhama* to mean "error, illusion", which is also the meaning of the skr. *bhrama.* W's translation cannot be reconciled with the text.

[7] Skr. *dūrīkaroti* can also mean "leaves behind it, surpasses".

[8] Skr. *Parjanya* the God of rain and of the storm. Cf. Jāt. I. 331[21] ff.; D. N. II. 260[25]; Mhvs. 21. 31.

[9] During solemn ceremonies the priest holds a fan in his right hand and great importance is attached to its being held in a dignified way.

48 their hearers It was made beautiful by the jubilant cries[1]
of the four retinues (of the Buddha)[2] who ever giving grateful
49 expression to their joy, went hither and thither praising un-
ceasingly with cries of applause the merits of the three (sacred)
50 objects with the words O Buddha! O Doctrine! O Order! Its
praise was proclaimed by the elders *(of the clan) of the*
51 Balibbojakas[3] arrayed in all their ornaments, who taking their
stand at the divers regions of the heavens after the custom of a
Nandin procured[4] without ceasing the blessing of the Buddha
52 With the thought even in the highest heaven the Prince of
the gods celebrates such a festival for the Buddha, the Ruler
53 had that same ceremony manifested here (on earth), and as
former kings also, rulers of Sihala, had in their miraculous
power held even such a sacrificial festival for the Enlightened
54 One, so he showed it likewise at the present time to the
dwellers in Sihala And so with the words addressed as it
55 were to all men of such kind is the fruit on the *wishing-*
creeper[5] of the pāramitās[6] of the omniscient (Buddha), he
celebrated seven days long even such a great sacrificial festival
56 for the three (sacred) objects Then in making the great

[1] P *sadhukara* Cf note to 74 223

[2] These are the bhikkhus and bhikkhunis, lay brethren and lay sisters

[3] See note to 38 13

[4] P *buddhasantim karontehi* The expression *santim kar* (skr *śanti*) shows that the task of the people was to fend off all influences emanating from evil spirits which might disturb the course of the festival *Nandividhipurassaram* is in keeping with this, for in the Indian drama the *nandin* has in the prologue to deliver the introductory prayer (*nāndi*) which is fraught with blessing Cf Sten Konow Das Indische Drama p 24 We can understand too why the elders of the Balibhojaka clan were entrusted with this office The name signifies these animals, birds in particular such as the crows that live on the *bali*, the daily sacrifice offered to the spirits Such spirits are embodied in these birds and the sacrifice satisfies and conciliates them so that they do no harm

[5] Also in Skr *kalpalatā* along with *kalpavṛkṣa* etc of the tree of Paradise on which grows everything that gives joy and delight to mankind

[6] See note to 37 160

vihāra[1] the property of the community and in giving it over
to the Order, he filled himself with merit and fame. Thereupon 57
the King erected a pariveṇa that was called by his name
Parakkamabāhu, adorned with lofty pāsādas, granted the
vihāra[2] the divers objects of use suited to it, as well as 58
several rich maintenance villages, and celebrated a great sacrificial feast.

The King made his yuvarāja[3] erect in the Billasela-vihāra 59
the pariveṇa called Bhuvanekabāhu after him, embellished 60
with pāsādas, maṇḍapas and the like and then celebrated in
the town called Sirivaḍḍhana in the manner described, with 61
all votive offerings with care seven days long a great sacrificial
festival for the three (sacred) objects. But also in the splendid 62
town of Hatthigiripura[4] the King made the same (yuvarāja) erect
a vast vihāra, and after having built in his name a superb 63
pariveṇa, called Mahāmahindabāhu, he celebrated a great feast
of sacrifice and gathered thereby merit. He restored the decayed 64
five-storeyed pāsāda built long before in the splendid town
of Kalyāṇī by King Yaṭṭhālatissa[5], and in repairing what was 65
destroyed by having it coated with stucco, he made it again
as it had been originally. There too he restored in similar 66
fashion the temple of the recumbent statue of the King
of sages and the temple of the Tivaṅka image[6]. There too 67
the Ruler had the spacious, four-square courtyard of the great
cetiya laid with great stone slabs, making of it a perfectly 68

[1] See note to 85. 2.

[2] Namely the vihāra in which the Parakkamabāhu-pariveṇa was erected. *Pariveṇa* and *vihāra* are thus not used synonymously as W. thinks.

[3] That is his younger brother Bhuvanekabāhu, see 82. 4.

[4] I. e. "Elephant mountain town", now Kurunegala.

[5] He was the son of Mahānāga who was the brother of Devānampiyatissa and founder of the dynasty of Rohaṇa, whence arose in the fourth generation Duṭṭhagāmaṇī. (Mhvs. 22. 2 ff., 10 ff.). For Kalyāṇī see note to 61. 35.

[6] Cf. note to 78. 39. The images named here are the same as those mentioned in the Selalihinisandesa 68, to which Paranavitane has already called attention. According to the Ss. there were two of these.

level surface and then he erected in front of the (cetiya) a
69 large maṇḍapa Further the Ruler with great and religious
devotion held several times in that vihāra a sacrificial feast for
70 the Bodhi tree, the cetiya and the Enlightened One, with votive
offerings of flowers, lamps and food — magnificent, abundant,
spreading joy among the people, and acquired thereby merit
71 Thereupon the King granted to the vihāra for the purpose
of holding a daily sacrificial festival of lamps, a large, fair,
72 delightful garden of cocopalms which he had had laid out in
his own name in the immediate neighbourhood of the vihāra
73 Then the two storeyed, circular relic temple in the vihara
called Hatthavanagalla[1], *erected*[2] *by the monarch Goṭhabhaya,*
74 by name, on the spot where King Sirisamghabodhi gave his
75 head as gift to the poor man[3] — this temple the best of kings
had repaired and provided with a golden point and made three
76 storeys high In the selfsame monastery he built on the spot
where the corpse of his royal father had been laid down[4] a superb
77 cetiya There too he had erected an octagonal image house and had
78 a stone image of the Buddha set up in it The glorious King heard
that of that son of the Enlightened One[5], the Thera Mahakassapa,
79 who had received during the lifetime of the Enlightened One —
the Guide to the path of salvation — the Master of the worlds —
his most holy garment of rags as heritage[6] and after his death
80 had taken over the spiritual kingship and protected *it* — (*that*)
of this Mahakassapa a single relic, a tooth, (existed and) in

[1] Now Attavanagalla on the small river of the same name about 18 or 20 miles north east of Colombo

[2] Hatthavanagallavihāravamsa 9 7 (p 32 of the edition by Alwis) Here the building is described as *bhavanam vaṭṭulam*

[3] Mhvs 36 91 ff should be compared with this The history of Sirisamghabodhi s end is told in greater detail in the Hatthavanagalla vihāravamsa 8 (p 25 ff of the ed) and embellished with many miraculous tales

[4] Namely on the pyre The corpses of the kings were disposed of by burning

[5] Buddha s disciples are described as his spiritual sons

[6] Cf for this Samyutta 16 11 28 f (II 221) and the remarks to my translation of the S N II p 270 and 284

course of time had come to Tambapaṇṇī and was now preserved 81
in the vihāra of Bhīmatittha in the province of Pañcayojana[1].
Thereupon the King in whom there sprang up religious devotion, 82
love and highest veneration towards that Thera[2], betook himself,
surrounded by his four-membered army to the great monastery 83
and after he had beheld there the splendid (relic), he celebrated
full of joy with an immeasurable quantity of beautiful kinds
of fragrant flowers and likewise with lamps and incense and 84
heaps of rice, with great care for three days a sacrificial
festival for the Tooth Relic. Then when the Monarch learned 85
that in the sacred town of Devanagara which was a mine of
meritorious works, the shrine long since erected to the lotus-
hued god — the King of the gods, had now fallen into decay, 86
he betook himself to the superb town and in rebuilding the 87
dwelling of the King of the gods like to the heavenly mansion
of the King of the gods[3], he made of it an abode of all
riches. Then the best of men had the town filled with all 88
splendours even as the beauteous city of the gods[4]. Hereupon 89
he determined to celebrate every year in the town an Āsāḷhī
festival[5] for the god.

Now the Great king betook himself to the splendid town 90
of Jambuddoṇī. Here he had built round the Sirivijayasundara- 91
vihāra[6] erected by his royal father, a high wall and gate-
towers and then had the three-storeyed relic temple restored[7]. 92

[1] Now Bentota on the coast between Colombo and Galle. For Pañcayojana see note to 57. 71.

[2] That is towards Mahākassapa. W. erroneously associates *there* with "the elder who had the charge thereof".

[3] The word *devarājālaya* is twice used here. The temple of the King of the gods (Viṣṇu) in Devanagara is made as beautiful as the palace of the King of the gods (in this case Indra) in heaven.

[4] P. *devanagaraṃ viya* in allusion to its namesake, the town of Viṣṇu's shrine.

[5] P. *āsāḷhā, -ḷhī* is the name of the month June-July. The day of the full moon of this month was one of high festival even before the time of Buddha (Jāt. I. 50). Buddha was born on that day.

[6] Cf. above 81. 51 where the monastery is called Vijayasundarārāma.

[7] Cf. with this 82. 9 ff.

116 palanquins, with divers kinds of excellent rice, with divers splendid kinds of cake, with divers superb lamps, frankincense and perfumes — with all these and other votive offerings
117 worthy of a king, he celebrated with care, after assembling the Great community of the bhikkhus dwelling on the island of Laṅkā for seven days a great sacrificial feast
118 The best of kings also betook himself with his four-membered forces to the Samantakūṭa[1], this forehead jewel of
119 the rock mountains There he venerated the foot-print — to be venerated by gods and other beings — of the highest God
120 of gods[2], the King of truth, the Master Round about the monarch of the mountains he granted to the extent of ten gāvutas[3] the land rich in various precious stones and thickly
121 peopled with men and women, in religious devotion to the sacred foot print and sacrificed to it again with ornaments of jewels
122 Thus did the discerning King who had faith in the Buddha, amass a great quantity of meritorious works as bridge for the crossing of the ocean of the circle of rebirths, or as ladder with which to reach the highest heaven

Here ends the eighty-fifth chapter, called «The Performance of all Kinds of Pious Works», in the Mahāvaṃsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious

[1] The pilgrimage to Adam s Peak is mentioned in the Pūjav

[2] The title *devatideva* for the Buddha which already occurs in Mhvs 1 57 points again to a later stage of development. Cf note to 50 65

[3] That is about 20 miles

CHAPTER LXXXVI

INCITEMENT TO THE PERFORMANCE OF ALL KINDS OF PIOUS WORKS

Thereupon the King thought: "Since I now wield the royal 1
dominion over all Laṅkā, it is indeed for me a heavy burden[1]
to make pilgrimages hither and thither and to venerate 2
according to one's desire the hallowed places, to perform daily
meritorious works and to care for the welfare of the world.
But which of my dignitaries has the capacity to accumulate 3
a blessing of merit which would be equal to my aspiration
and to care (likewise) for the welfare of the world? Now 4
there is my dignitary Devappatirāja by name, a true believer
in the Buddha, the Doctrine and the Community. When he 5
striving after the dignity of a Guide to the path of salvation,
made the firm resolve[2], straightway there sprang from the three 6
eyes of a coconut planted by him three shoots. Once when
he beheld a poor man he to whom mercy was the highest,
gave him all his possessions together with children and wives 7
and uttered the wish: I will be a Buddha. Therefore when 8
he shall have heard my wish he will fulfil it." So thinking,
he had him summoned and spake to him thus: "By swamp, 9
mountain and wilderness as though created by the powerful[3],

[1] P. *bhāra*. The idea is this: the meritorious tasks which I have taken upon myself are too much for me alone. I must look round for helpers who will work with and for me with the same ideas and objects.

[2] Namely that the miracle described in 5 c d and 6 a b should be manifested as sign of the fulfilment of his wish to become one day a Buddha. Cf. 50. 65, 85. 119 and notes.

[3] P. *vasavattin*. As epithet of Māra, also in Thūpavaṃsa 65[13], with

unwelcome Māra, the road leading to the Sumana mountain[1]
10 is at many places obstructed, (made) inaccessible and causes
difficulties to the people of the eighteen provinces who make
11 a pilgrimage thither in order to accumulate blessing by
venerating the footprint of the Sage Do thou therefore make
12 it accessible Further I have heard that in the vihāra called
Hatthavanagalla[2], at the spot where a Grand thera gifted
13 with miraculous powers, making through the majesty of his
merit earth and air to resound with thunder, attained the
14 dignity of an arahant, a five-storeyed pasada with a roofing
of golden bricks erected by King Upatissa[3], has in the course
15 of time fallen into decay, so that now nought but the pillars
16 remain Do thou also restore this in my name And just as
King Nissaṅka laid out a garden of fruit-trees in the Bhima-
17 titthavihāra[4], do thou also plant in the same manner in my
name a large garden full of cocopalms and other trees" With
these words he entrusted him with each single meritorious
undertaking[5]

18 Devappatirāja agreed with "aye!" and betook himself in
the first place to Gangāsiripura[6] There he had fashioned a
19 magnificent image of Sumanadeva[7] furnished with all the fair
bodily signs and decked it out with ornaments of gold and
20 jewels But after that he wished to visit the Samantakuṭa[8]
He took the image of the god (Sumana) along with him in

reference to the *paranimmitavasavattidevā* who are Mara s retinue and are themselves described as Maras

[1] Name of Adam s Peak

[2] See 85 73 and note

[3] We do not know which Upatissa is meant, for neither the first king of this name (37 179 ff) nor the second (41 6) has such a building ascribed to him

[4] See 85 81 and note There is an account of the parks laid out by Kittinissaṅka in 80 25 (and in the Rajav)

[5] We must of course write *tamtam punnakriyāsu*

[6] According to Pūjav = Gampala now Gampola situated about 11 miles to the south of Kandy Cf 88 48 90 107

[7] The local guardian spirit of Adam s Peak See Mhvs 1 33

[8] = Sumanakūṭa. See note to 60 64

festive procession[1], set forth, betook himself first to the village 21
Bodhitala and began from here to build bridges. Here at the 22
mouth[2] he made a large and magnificent bridge of thirty-five
cubits, and over the Khajjotanadī one of thirty cubits, likewise
at Ullapanaggāma one of thirty-six cubits, at Ambaggāma 23
one of thirty-four cubits in length[3]. (The bridges were) very 24
strong and good so that elephants, horses, cattle and buffaloes
could pass over them. And above each single embankment of 25
the bridges he had fair houses built, adorned with lofty pillars
and the like, had invitations sent to numbers of bhikkhus, 26
gathered them together at different places, distributed among
them abundant alms and celebrated a great sacrificial festival.
He built rest-houses, finished the building of bridges, laid 27
down at the remaining places frequent stepping-stones[4], had 28
the wilderness cleared and (in this way) a great road built.
Then he betook himself to the Samantakūṭa, showed veneration
to the sacred footprint, set up in the courtyard of the cetiya 29
of the sacred footprint the image of the god (Sumana) and
erected a maṇḍapa for the holy footprint. Round about it he 30
had a wall built, and discerning as he was, had the maṇḍapa
fastened with strong chains to iron pillars in this wise to 31

[1] P. *ussavena saha.* Pūjāv. has *peraharin* "with a procession".

[2] P. *mukhadvāramhi.* The mode of expression is not quite clear. W. translates: "and nigh unto the mouth of the Khajjota river he built a bridge ... and ... across the same river". This is indeed difficult to reconcile with the original text. We have to think of these bridges as causeways between the rice fields (cf. *setubandha* in v. 25). The numbers are, taken in order, roughly 52, 45; 54, 51 ft.

[3] Devappatirāja proceeds from Gampola up the left bank of the Mahaveliganga. Ullapanaggāma is the modern Ulapana (4 m from Gampola as the crow flies). Ambaggāma is the present Ambagamuva (6 m from Ulapana). The Khajjota river is called in Pūjāv. *Kaṇamädiri-hoya* (we have to read thus instead of *-haya*). Sinh. *kaṇamädiri* means "glow-worm", like the P. *khajjota.* It is curious that the farther course of the road is not described. It probably led over to the valley of the Kadalīgāma river and then ascended this valley. See note to 60. 66 and below v. 41.

[4] At marshy spots where no causeway could be built, to give firm foothold.

secure it, and then again he sacrificed for three days to the
32 sacred footprint with lamps and the like He himself placed
on his head a lamp with fragrant oil, and venerating again
33 and again in the name of his Master the Great king and
walking round the sacred footprint with his right side towards
34 it, he spent the whole night Hereupon he had this whole
occurrence in its true sequence from the beginning written
35 down on a lofty stone pillar and had this monument of the
glory of the Great king of kings Parakkamabahu set up
36 with rejoicing Thereupon he informed the King of the whole
occurrence by the mouth of a messenger and sent (the message) off, since his wishes had been completely carried out
37 After that Devappatirāja betook himself to the Hatthavanagalla-vihāra and had erected there at great cost, in the
38 manner commanded by the King, a three-storeyed pāsāda with
a lofty point and gave it over to the Grand master[1], the wise
39 Anomadassin by name Then he celebrated according to the
order of the Great king, an almsgiving and had a stone
inscription put up
40 Thereupon the High dignitary betook himself to the
landing-place Bhimatittha and built at the mouth of the
41 Kālanadi a bridge of eighty six cubits[2] Then after building
at Kadalisenagama[3] a bridge of a hundred staves[4] and over
42 the river of Salaggāma one of forty staves[4] and over the

[1] P *mahasamin* Cf with this note to 53 23 Anomadassin was the Superior (abbot) of the monastery

[2] The Kalanadi is the present Kaluganga The length of the bridge is about 129 ft the mouth of the Kaluganga is however considerably wider than that

[3] If Kadalisenagama is the same as Kadaligama in 60 66 the building of the bridge was a continuation of the road to Adam's Peak The identity of the two is however very questionable W *suggests* Kehellenava in the Kalutara District, Rayigam korale Pūjav has Kelsēnava.

[4] The calculation according to *yatthi* rod measuring rod here is curious According to 78 63 (cf the note to the passage) a *yatthi* equals 5 *hattha* The two measurements in v 41 would accordingly be 750 and 300 ft respectively

Sālapādapa swamp one of a hundred and fifty cubits[1] and in addition to these other bridges here and there at difficult places, and numerous parks and sermon halls, he celebrated 43
once more a great festival of almsgiving.

And again the High dignitary of the King had laid out 44
from the Bhīmatittha-vihāra as far as the landing-place (of the Kālanadī)[2] on a space a yojana broad, a great garden of 45
cocopalms, called after Parakkamabāhu, beautifully shady and rich in fruit. Then having all the work in the different 46
districts, such as the spinning of the cotton and so forth, undertaken and finished in a day, the highly-famed one 47
presented the bhikkhu community with six and twenty kaṭhina robes and celebrated therewith a great sacrificial festival. Giving in like manner, he wandering around here and there, 48
presented the bhikkhu community once again with sixty-six kaṭhina robes.

Then he had the whole of the vast forest called Ma- 49
hālabujagaccha[3] cleared by the roots, a fine village built there and in its neighbourhood a large grove of jack-trees[4] planted. 50
Then he erected there in the name of the King an image house of three storeys, surrounded by bodhi tree, cetiya, park 51
and encircling wall and celebrated a great sacrificial festival. Having thus performed in the name of his royal Master[5] much 52
meritorious work, he informed the King of everything on his return.

Now was the King filled with great affection for him. He 53
made the village called Mahālabujagaccha and other villages built by him his hereditary property and granted them to 54

[1] Roughly 225 ft. W. gives the number as "fifty". He has overlooked the *sata* in *satahatthakaṃ*.

[2] Kālanadītittha, now Kalutara. Cf. 56. 12 and note. The distance between Bentota and Kalutara is 12 miles. The breadth of the plantation would be 9 miles, if the Indian yojana is meant.

[3] Pūjāv. *Mahadelgas namvū mahavanaya.* Sinh. *del* is the name of the bread-fruit tree artocarpus incisa. — P. *labuja.*

[4] Pūjāv. *kosvanayak.* Sinh. *kos* is artocarpus integrifolia. — P. *panasa.*

[5] P. *rājaññanāmato* stands here in the same sense as *mahārājassa nāmato* in v. 32 or *mahārājaniyogato* in v. 39 or *rājanāmena* in v. 51.

him Thereupon he betook himself with him to the temple
55 of the Tooth Relic and spake thus in the midst of the community 'This my most excellent dignitary has at all times been true of heart to me and to the three (sacred) objects
56 Therefore because activity for the welfare of the Buddha and of the King was for him the highest, is he dear to me and
57 precious Therefore will I with a gift dear to me make a sacrifice to the Tooth Relic" And he dedicated the excellent dignitary with wife and children to the Tooth Relic of the Sage

58 In such wise did the protector of the middle world from that times make that same most excellent Devappatiraja celebrate continually with many costly votive gifts, sacrificial festivals to the world-extolled Triad of the jewels

Here ends the eighty-sixth chapter, called «The Incitement to the Performance of all Kinds of Pious Works», in the Mahāvamsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious

CHAPTER LXXXVII

THE HANDING OVER OF THE BURDEN OF DOMINION

Now once upon a time when through the influence of evil 1
planets a great heat arose in Laṅkā by which everything was
burnt up, when the corn withered and a famine was inevitable 2
and the whole of the people dwelling in Laṅkā were filled
with the greatest anxiety, the King gave orders for a splendid 3
festival to be held for the three (sacred) objects, for the cetiyas
and the bodhi trees and for the protectors Metteya and other
miracle-working highest deities[1] who were to be venerated by 4
various offerings, and even to turn the whole of Laṅkā into
one great festival[2]. After antecedent sacrificial ceremonies, he 5
gathered together the Great community of the bhikkhus, caused
them recite the Paritta[3] and bear the Tooth Relic of the 6
Great sage round the town in fitting manner, the right
side turned towards it, and made (in firm faith) the resolve:
the heavens shall rain. Thereupon great clouds gathered on 7
every side, flashing with lightning and again and again
thundering, so that it was bliss for the ears of all people, 8
and they began to rain, destroying the glowing heat, making 9

[1] For *devātideva* used here of the future Buddhas at the head of whom stands Metteya, cf. note to 85. 119.

[2] The construction is difficult. W. merely translates freely according to the sense. We must take the words *kārāpetvāna* and *mahussavaṃ* twice, first *uttamaṃ mahussavaṃ kārāpetvāna* (namely for the things and persons mentioned in 3 and 4) and then *sabbaṃ Laṅkaṃ ekaṃ mahussavaṃ kārāpetvāna*. For this last cf. idioms like *vadho yev' eko* "pure murder and bloodshed", M. II. 244[3]; *ekobhāsā disā sabbā vidhāya*, Mhvs. 74, 219, JāCo. V. 194[5] etc.

[3] See note to 46. 5.

joyful the people, driving away the famine, beautifying the
country and reviving the corn[1]
10 "By the power of the Buddha do these rain-clouds pour
11 forth such rain, making joyful our hearts Who therefore among
gods, brahmas and men is capable of understanding how great
12 are these excellent qualities of the Buddha? But our King
also is mighty and strong in miraculous power, a king like
13 to him there has not been and there will not be" With such
words ever and again repeated, the dwellers in Lankā praised
the excellence of the Monarch of sages and also the excellence
of their King
14 While in this wise the King protecting Order and laity in
15 justice and filling with precious contents his own character,
enjoyed for long the good fortune of the royal dignity, he on
one occasion summoned to him along with his sister's son, Vira-
16 bāhu, his five capable sons — Vijayabāhu, Bhuvanekabahu[2],
17 Tibhuvanamalla, Parakkamabāhu and Jayabāhu — and began in
18 this wise to give these six advice "Dear ones, hearken to
my words there are here in the world these three (kinds) of
sons the low kind, those of like kind, those of higher kind[3]
19 Now those who know not how to enjoy at its true worth[4] the
wealth of their parents which has come to them as a family
20 heritage, but destroy it, as monkeys a wreath of flowers, and
now live without wealth — the pious ancients have called 'sons
21 of a low kind' But those who enjoy such possessions as they
have received them in like manner as their fathers, protecting
them as a family heritage, these ye must know are the '(sons)

[1] The removal of a drought by the exhibition of the Tooth Relic is also described in the Rajav

[2] The two brothers Vijayabāhu and Bhuvanekabahu are mentioned together in an inscription found in Yapahu H C P Bell, ASC 1911 12 = S P III 1915 p 63

[3] Lit lower (similar higher) born or become Cf skr *apajāta* and *anujāta* The three kinds are distinguished in the same way in the Itivuttaka p 63[1], 64[6] For *avajāta* cf also DhCo I 178[2]

[4] P *guṇānurodhato* W s translation by a virtuous life is too weak and too general The idea is they are not conscious of how valuable is the heritage that has come to them they squander it frivolously

of like kind.' But yet another kind I name — those who 22
besides the possessions taken over as family heritage, acquire
thereto many other possessions and as prudent people enjoy 23
in happiness — these are known as the 'sons of higher kind'.
From my father I have inherited alone (the province of) 24
Māyāraṭṭha[1] but have now again conquered the two other
provinces and brought the three kingdoms completely under 25
one umbrella. All the Damiḷas who were for him invincible,
I have vanquished and all the kings of the Vanni[2] dwelling 26
here and there in mountain and wilderness I have brought
over to my side. Having spread my fame everywhere also in 27
foreign lands, I have for long held sway in just fashion. I 28
have brought hither king's daughters from Jambudīpa with
gifts and thereby made the nobles in the foreign land your
kinsmen. The heroes of the Paṇḍus and the Coḷas, the kings 29
sprung from the dynasties of the Sun and Moon, have sent
me diadems and ornaments. Also have I gathered together 30
without ceasing a mass of jewels which can be enjoyed not
only by all of you here, but even in future time by seven
generations of my descendants, even as the (god) Kubera 31
(gathered together) his nine treasures, the shell and the rest[3].
I have put down the evil-doers and protected the honest and 32
brought unanimity to the Order of the Enlightened One.
Therefore have I become for my royal father a higher born 33
son, be ye also my sons, like me, higher born sons. As in 34
days of old the sixty thousand sons of King Sagara[4] of the
race of Okkāka, built as many towns, divided all land in 35

[1] See notes to 81. 15 and 46.

[2] See note to 81. 11.

[3] The nine treasures of Kubera are, according to Apte (Skr. Eng. Dict. s. v. *navanidhi*; cf. also Amarakosha, ed. W. L. Shastri Pansikar, v. 142): 1) *mahāpadma* "great lotus flower", 2) *padma* "lotus flower", 3) *śaṅkha* "shell", 4) *makara* "dolphin", 5) *kacchapa* "tortoise", 6) *mukunda* "a particular precious stone", 7) *kunda* "jasmine", 8) *nīla* "sapphire", 9) *kharva* "dwarf". The names are also personified as names of genii who are guardians of the treasures in question. Cf. Hopkins, Epic Mythology, p. 143.

[4] For the legend of the Sāgaras, see Mahābhārata, III. 106 ff.

Jambudīpa into sixty thousand parts and held sway each for
36 himself in harmony; — further as aforetime the ten brothers, the kings, divided Jambudīpa into ten parts and ruled in wise
37 fashion: so shall ye, my sons, divide this Lankā and supporting[1]
38 one another as is fitting, hold sway in able fashion, but never expose a weakness to the enemy." In this wise he admonished his own sons and his sister's son.

39 Hereupon he summoned the Great community in great numbers[2] and the King asked them: "Which of these six
40 princes, my sister's son and my own sons, is worthy of the royal crown?" When the Great community heard these words
41 of the King, they expressed themselves thus: "O Great king thy princely sons and this thy sister's son are all capable
42 men and well instructed; they are all practised in fighting, crushers of the alien foe and worthy of the royal crown as
43 protectors of the laity and the Order. But thy eldest son Vijayabāhu has from childhood believed with joy in the triad
44 of the jewels. His heart was ever set on the care of infirm bhikkhus, he was trustworthy, grateful, gifted with the merits
45 of faith and discernment He was a support for such as had no support, ever abounding in pity for aged people and
46 suffering creatures Many kinsmen by marriage of the bhikkhu community who had become enslaved during the period of
47 alien dominion[3] and many other people he freed from their slavery by the gift to their masters of gold, precious stones
48 and other valuables Many thieves who had committed thefts even in the royal palace, turned to him when punishment

[1] The reading of the MSS *yayantā* ought not to be changed into *sasantā* I assume that *yayati* has here a causative meaning "to make go, to further, to support'

[2] Not "the chief priests and the people", as W has it *Mahājanam* is in apposition to *mahasamgham* The 'people" have nothing to do with the question of the succession In the sequel it is the priesthood alone who give the answer *Cf* also v *71*.

[3] P *rājantara*. See note to 81 1. *It* is the time *of* the *reign of* Māgha (and of Jayabāhu, 82 27, 83 19) that is meant W has misunderstood the passage in translating "when he took the government into his hands"

overtook them. They gave up their anguish and their fear 49
and unharmed, without suffering the loss of a limb[1], their
lives were spared. When O King! he beheld the people who 50
went forth to each village to collect[2] the taxes due to the
King, he gave his own money, freed thus from various dues 51
all people in distress and protected them continuously, versed
in the protection of subjects. Also many of the Sīhala kings 52
of the Vanni whom thou wast desirous of subduing, sought him
out first and then only did they fearless pay their visit to thee.
›Ye must henceforth serve for ever with devotion[3] Vijayabāhu 53
who will in the future protect the continuation of our race,‹ 54
thus are the wives in the families of the dignitaries wont in
all reverence to admonish their husbands. When fathers and 55
mothers, fain to listen to the sweet infant voices of their two
year and three year old children, ask them: ›Whom do ye 56
serve?‹ they say: ›We wish to serve Vijayabāhu‹. Children 57
beaten in wrath by father and mother come to him and tell
their woe. Then Vijayabāhu makes the parents come to him, 58
exhorts them in his pity to beat their children no longer and 59
lets them have from his own storehouse the necessary food
for their various children. How canst thou O King, — even 60
as a man who gifted with seeing eyes, looks at the heavens
where the full moon stands and yet asks where is then the
full moon? — knowing as thou dost that in Vijayabāhu the 61
merits dwell which constitute the ornament of the royal dignity,
yet ask the Order? Learn then O Great king! that he 62
possesses the lucky signs to hold sway not only over Laṅkā-
dīpa but even over Jambudīpa."

After the Ruler had heard of these and his many other 63
merits from the mouth of the community, his eyes became
moist with tears of joy thereat. Full of contentment he 64
summoned to him his son Vijayabāhu, made him sit on a seat

[1] P. *aṅgahāni.*

[2] Wrongly translated by W. It is not a case of people embezzling the taxes, but of the revenue officers who wished to collect them.

[3] P. *sambhattā.* Cf. with this the term *bhatti* = skr. *bhakti,* note to 74. 243.

65 (like his own) near him, and then the Great king informed
him of all that must still be carried out for the laity and
66 the Order and which had not yet been done by himself "The
Ratanāvali-cetiya[1] destroyed by alien foes, thou shalt restore
67 and adorn it with a golden point Pulatthinagara, that splendid
ornament of all towns,[2] which was the ancient royal city of
68 the Sihala sovereigns, do thou restore as it was of yore, with
high walls and gate-towers, with four gates well distributed,
69 and surrounded by a deep trench, and do thou bring thither
to the former relic temple, fair as a heavenly palace, the two
70 relics of the Tooth and the Bowl In this royal city of former
kings I wish myself to celebrate the high festival of the royal
71 consecration But do thou bring the whole bhikkhu com-
munity in great number[3], dwelling in the three Sihala pro-
vinces, to Sahassatittha[4], let them there after antecedent
72 sacrifice, celebrate in the Mahāvālikagangā the festival of ad-
mission to the Order and thus make the Order of the Victor
prosperous

73 After speaking thus and otherwise of all that was to be done for the laity and the Order, he gave over the burden of government into his hands

74 And further the King entrusted him with the five remaining sons of the royal house, and the two sacred relics of the holy Sage, the Tooth and the Bowl, as also with the host of the ascetics, with the group of all the dignitaries and also the land of Lankā

Here ends the eighty-seventh chapter, called «The Handing over of the Burden of Dominion», in the Mahāvamsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious

[1] See note to 80 68

[2] P *sabbapuratilaka* The word *tilaka* (badge of a sect) has here (as so often also skr *tilaka*) a figurative meaning ornament adornment

[3] For *bhikkhusamgham mahajanam* cf note to v 39

[4] Now Dastota, a ford over the Mahaveliganga south of Polonnaruva. That the bhikkhus were fond of performing their ceremonies in a building erected in the water at some distance from the bank is well known Dastota was at that time a spot considered especially *sacred* where such ceremonies were performed with great pomp, as is shown also in 89 47 ff

CHAPTER LXXXVIII

THE REBUILDING OF PULATTHINAGARA

Fearless in heart, King Vijayabāhu gave his consent and 1
took over the burden of the government. Now he thought: 2
"I will show my father so long as he is in life, that I am a
son of the higher kind." And he probed ever further: "Who 3
is there now fitted to be the element 'friend' among the seven
elements of government, as ruler, minister, friend and the like[1]:
trustworthy, a clever counsellor, a comrade in misfortune, who 4
speaks the truth, who is good to me?" And he realised: 5
"There is the Ādipāda Vīrabāhu, the son of my father's
sister, well-bred, adorned with virtues, skilled in all tasks.
Since the time when we played (together) in the sand till 6
to-day he has showed the highest confidence in me and in
(all) good people. He cannot bear to stand anywhere if he 7
does not see me, and I also cannot bear to take a seat without
seeing him. He is at pains even as I, to further the laity and 8
the Order, richly dowered with mental and bodily power.
Therefore is he fitted for the element friend". He summoned 9
him to him and entrusted him with the position of a devoted
friend.

[1] The *satta rajjaṅgāni* are enumerated in Abhpd. 350. They are: *sāmi* "ruler, monarch", *amacca* "minister", *sakhā* "friend", *koso* "state treasure", *duggaṃ* "fortress", *vijitaṃ* "land, kingdom" and *balaṃ* "army". In the Kauṭalīya, they are enumerated at the beginning of Book 6 as the (*sapta*) *prakṛtayaḥ*: *svāmyamātyajanapadadurgakośadaṇḍamitrāṇi*. Why J. J. Meyer in his translation should have left out *kośa* (p. 397) I cannot understand. Cf. ib. p. 399[20], as well as R. Shamasastry, Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra, trsl., p. 319. In Subhūti's Abhidhānappadīpikāsūci a verse is quoted from Kāmandaki in which the same terms are grouped together.

10 Then he thought "Now I must perform a meritorious
work — splendid, sublime, rejoicing the heart I was entrusted
11 with the two relics, the Tooth and the Bowl For these I
must now build a new temple On the other hand, the an-
12 cient relic temple erected by my royal forefathers[1], has fallen
13 into decay This I will restore" With this consideration, he had
fetched from all parts many groups of artists experienced in
14 every branch of art and many other workmen, and erecting
new structures doubly as fair to look at as the former build-
15 ings, he completed the whole temple of the Tooth Relic, so
that it was beauteous as a heavenly palace, placed there the
16 two relics of the Enlightened One and ordered his own guard
to institute day by day a great sacrificial festival richer than
17 aforetime, for the relics From this time onward the King
succeeded in making the love of his royal father (for him)
increase *continuously, twofold and threefold*

18 Thought the Ruler my royal father shall have no grief
arising from the separation from his sons, and he made his
19 two younger brothers, Parakkamabahu and Jayabāhu, dwell
20 continually near their father Hereupon he summoned his
younger brother Tilokamalla and placed under his command
21 all the Sihala troops quartered in the space between the town
22 of Jambuddoṇi and the southern sea and made him take up
his abode in Mahāvatthalagāma[2], to protect his royal father
23 on the south Then he reflected "In the north, foes coming
from the opposite coast are wont to land in Khuddavaligāma
24 Who is so fitted to protect this side — perilous, since it is
here that fighting is wont to begin — as my brother, the Prince

[1] P *piturājuhi* W translates by the King my father He evi dently regards *rājūhi* as a plur majest. I believe however, that the term applies to Vijayabahu III. and Parakkamabahu II What is meant is the relic temple in the Vijayasundara vihara in Jambuddoṇi which is said in 85 91 2 to have been built by Vijayabahu III and renewed by Parakkamabahu II

[2] Perhaps identical with Vattalagama mentioned in 81 68 The difference in the writing may possibly be explained in this way that *vattala* is the pure Sinhalese form, while *vatthala* is adapted to the Pali

Bhuvanekabāhu?" The Ruler summoned him therefore, made 25
over to him the great army that stood in the north and 26
commanded him to take up his abode in Sundarapabbata[1], in
order to protect his royal father from this quarter. But the 27
King himself armed, marched with Vīrabāhu hither and thither,
crushed all villains, made Laṅkā free from the briers (of the 28
enemy) and after getting his father's permission, he set forth
with the intention of restoring Pulatthinagara.

Now at this time the Great king Parakkamabāhu, as if 29
borne on the great wave of his love for his son, set about
accompanying his son, full of sympathy, travelling everywhere 30
after him, although the son did not wish it. Then the son ever 31
and again forced his father in reverent manner to return, he
himself going on his way. Then his father issued the order: 32
"All people who cherish love for my son let them accompany
him." When they heard these words of his, then all the high 33
dignitaries of the King and all the generals, all the great 34
hero warriors and all the elephant drivers, all the riders and
all the charioteers were filled with the greatest joy. "Now our 35
Bodhisatta Vijayabāhu[2] sets forth to restore the royal city of
Pulatthinagara. If he goes we shall go with him at once." Thus 36
they spake and started forth well equipped to accompany him.
When a certain number of dignitaries, soldiers and others, 37
out of laziness, were not minded to go, their wives said to
them: "Ye, our lords, may come with us or not, at any rate 38
we are going with the King who seeks the best, and we shall 39
dwell with him in the newly restored, splendid town". And
they set forth therewith on their way before them. Even 40
children deserted their fathers, if they would not go with
them and followed the King. When the King beheld the great 41
crowd of people setting forth, each deserting his village, his
house and his comfortable possessions, he persuaded them 42
again and again in his great anxiety, and induced all those

[1] The same as Subhapabbata or Subhagiri = Yāpahu.

[2] The influence again of the Mahāyāna. Cf. 50. 65, 85. 119, 86. 5. Also in Rājaratn. and Nik.-s. the King is called B ō s a t V i j a y a b ā h u.

43 whom it was right to induce, to return Then he betook
himself with the four-membered army in the desired strength,
44 to the great and loftily situated fortress of Vātagiri[1] After
building a splendid royal palace on the summit of this mountain,
45 surrounded by an extraordinarily high wall, he stored there
in case of need, the whole of the great treasure given over
46 to him by his royal father Thereupon he built on the same
high rock a fine monastery for the community, invited the
47 Grand thera, the head of the Mahānettappāsāda-shrine[2], made
over to him the splendid monastery, celebrated a great sacrificial festival and established a regular offering

48 Hereupon the King went forth to Sumanakūṭa, venerated
the footprint of the Sage (Buddha) and betook himself there-
49 after to Gaṅgāsiripura[3] There in the ancient vihāra that bore
the name Nigamaggāmapāsāda, he saw to the restoration of
50 what was ruinous and decayed, established for the bhikkhus
dwelling there a regular almsgiving and came thereafter to
51 Sindhūravāna Here the King erected the vihāra called Va-
naggāmapāsāda and after building there in the name of his
52 royal father[4] the pariveṇa called Abhayarāja, he granted it
the various articles of equipment, villages, fields and so forth
53 Then the Monarch betook himself to the splendid Hatthigiri-
pura[5] While here in the great vihāra built by his princely uncle
54 (Bhuvanekabahu), he gazed along with Prince Vīrabāhu[6] and
his army again and again at the ever to be honoured spot
55 where his corpse was laid (on the pyre), he felt anguish and
gained there again and again the inner conception of imper-

[1] Vakiri̇galla in the Kegalla District Cf note to Mhvs 58 31

[2] A Mahanettapabbata is mentioned in Mhvs 50 74

[3] Gampola See 86 18

[4] The pariveṇa is **not** called after his father Parakkamabahu II Here it is the case of a *patti* (see note to 42 50) The merit is transferred to the dead king

[5] Kurunegala. See 85 62 where mention is made of the building of the Vihāra by Bhuvanekabahu, the younger brother of Parakkamabahu II

[6] Cf 83 41 ff

manency¹. Hereupon he erected there a splendid, three-storeyed 56
image-house and had made for it a great image of the Buddha.
Then having had further a fine statue of his uncle fashioned, 57
he set it up there adorned with all ornaments. The Ruler 58
assigned (his foundation) fine maintenance villages fitted for
their purpose, lying around the image-house, as well as numbers
of people for service, and decreed for it (the foundation) the 59
name Bhuvanekabāhu-pariveṇa, using for it the name of that
(uncle). Then after he had settled the town (Hatthigiri) densely 60
with men and women, he had it enclosed with wall, moat and
so forth. Thereafter the brave King set forth and marched 61
with the vast four-membered army to Subhagiripura[2].

At that time the Lord of men Candabhānu, formerly[3] beaten 62
after hard fighting, having collected from the countries of
the Paṇḍus and Coḷas and elsewhere many Damiḷa soldiers, 63
representing a great force, landed with his Jāvaka army in
Mahātittha. After the King had brought over to his side the 64
Sīhalas dwelling in Padī, Kurundi[4] and other districts, he
marched to Subhagiri. He set up there an armed camp and 65
sent forth messengers with the message: "I shall take Tisīhala[5];
I shall not leave it to thee. Yield up to me therefore together
with the Tooth Relic of the Sage, the Bowl Relic and the 66
royal dominion. If thou wilt not, then fight." Thereupon 67
Vijayabāhu summoned the Ruler[6] Vīrabāhu, took counsel with
him, had a strong force equipped for him and spake: "Hurrah, 68
to-day both of us shall see the strength of our arms." Then the
two set forth[7], surrounded the great army of Candabhānu on 69
all sides and fought a great battle, terrible as a combat of
Rāma. Then were the hostile warriors subdued in battle and 70

[1] P. *aniccalakkhaṇa*. This is a term drawn from the technique of *jhāna*, meditative absorption. See Heiler, Die buddistische Versenkung, p. 18 ff.

[2] I. e. Yāpahu.

[3] Cf. 83. 36 ff.

[4] See note to 83. 16.

[5] See note to 81. 46.

[6] Vīrabāhu has here and in v. 90 the title of *mahīpati*, just as Bhuvanekabāhu in v. 79 has the title of *rājan*.

[7] Note the change of subject in the case of *vatvāna* and *nikkhamitvā*.

weaponless the soldiers of the foe[1] wandered around, prayed
71 and implored, tortured by fear, were benumbed, trembled,
begged for mercy in the fight, whined and grieved full of
72 terror In their distress certain of the foe fled to the forest,
73 others to the sea, others again to the mountains After
Vijayabāhu had thus fought and slain many soldiers, he sent
74 the Lord of men Candabhānu flying defenceless But the
loveliest women of his court and all the elephants and horses,
75 the swords and many other weapons, the entire treasure, the
trumpets of victory, the umbrella of victory, the drum of
victory, the banner of victory — all these he sent to his father
76 Having in this way fought the fiery battle, conquered the
province and won the victory, he united Lankā under the
umbrella of his dominion
77 Hereupon he had this town (Subhagiri) also surrounded
by a high rampart and a trench and built there a superb
78 royal palace Having finished it, he established then in that town
a regular almsgiving for the great bhikkhu community Then he
79 spake encouragingly to his younger brother King Bhuvaneka-
bahu and made him take up his abode as before in Subhapabbata
80 Now the Ruler betook himself to Anurādhapura and there
round about the Thūpārāma and all the other sacred places
81 he had the mighty forest — that was like a stronghold created
by Māra — felled and a wall erected which was as a bridge
82 over the stream of his hopes Then after the Ruler had had
these sacred places embellished by new buildings, he celebrated
83 a great sacrificial festival But as he wished to complete the
work of restoration on the Ratanāvali-cetiya[2], begun but not
84 finished by his royal father, he assembled with the greatest
speed all people dwelling in the town from the places where
85 individuals sojourned, ordered numbers of skilful workmen
hither and having established for the community at whose head
86 stood the chief Thera of the Senānātha-pariveṇa[3] a regular

[1] *Veribhata tadā* in 71 d takes up again the *tadā veriyodhā* in v 70 a b

[2] See 87 66

[3] This is the building erected by the general Kuṭṭhaka under Udaya II and called in Mhvs 51 88, Senasenapati pariveṇa.

almsgiving[1], he appointed the Thera to look after the work
of restoration. Thereupon the Monarchs of the Vanni who 87
were living in Patiṭṭhāraṭṭha, sought out the Ruler, bringing
him many gifts. He (on his part) presented them with rocking 88
chairs, white umbrellas, fly-whisks and other insignia for the
great kings of the Vanni people. Therewith he made them 89
all contented, charged them to protect the town (Anurādhapura)
and betook himself from there to Pulatthinagara.

There the Monarch summoned to him the ruler Vīrabāhu: 90
"We shall embellish this town, originally the royal city, and
fill the universe with the camphor perfume of the exuberant 91
abundance of our glory." After these words he took counsel with
him and spake thereupon: "In the town called Pulatthinagara 92
there are now pāsādas, image-houses, vihāras, pariveṇas, cetiyas
and relic temples, walls, gate-towers, houses of the aḍḍhayoga 93
and of the hammiya kind[2], maṇḍapas, sermon halls, temples to
deities and other buildings. Some of these stand erect, covered 94
with grass, trees and whatever else has grown upon them.
Others have collapsed without support as the whole of their
pillars perished; others again alas! will fall, bending under 95
the weight of walls cracked from top to foot, because other
support is wanting. Some of these, through decay and old age 96
are like greybeards, and unable to stand erect, they become more
bowed from day to day. With many the joists are broken[3] and 97
their pinnacles destroyed[4], with others the roofs have decayed[5]

[1] *Niṭṭhāpeti* means here "to fix, to establish", the object *dānavaṭṭaṃ* being governed by it.

[2] I leave the two terms *aḍḍhayoga* and *hammiya* (skr. *harmya*) untranslated. Both are names for particular types of dwelling-houses which we are unable to describe further.

[3] P. *chinnatulāyaṭṭhī*. I believe that *tulāyaṭṭhi* (lit. balance-beam) means the horizontal beams, while *gopānasī* (v. 98; cf. 37. 141) means the beams of the rooftree. The construction of the compound is: "many are such in which . . . are broken off.

[4] P. *naṭṭhaviṭaṅkakā*. The original meaning of *viṭaṅka* which is omitted in the PTS. P. D. is according to Abhp. "dovecote".

[5] P. *vidhastavaḷabhī*. This is an interesting voucher for *vaḷabhi* which

98 and the bricks are broken In others by the breakage of the
damaged rooftree the bricks of the roof have fallen and only
99 walls and pillars remain In others again the gates have fallen
in and the hinging of the gate-posts destroyed, in others again
the steps have become loosened and the railings have fallen
100 in Of many all that can be seen are parts still hanging
together[1] of the original foundation wall of many not even
101 the place where they once stood is now to be seen Of what
use are many words? This town which has lost all its glory
we shall again make glorious The Ruler must give his consent
102 Then later he may celebrate the royal consecration in the
splendid city" With this charge he sent a messenger to his
father

103 When the King heard these tidings, his heart was full of
joy, and as he himself had cherished the wish to restore the
104 original royal town, he summoned the circle of the great digni-
taries from every quarter, and issuing his commands to all the
105 inhabitants of Lankā, he brought together the workers in iron,
106 the turners, bamboo workers[2], blacksmiths, potters, goldsmiths,
painters, porters, workmen, slaves, the caṇḍalas who understood
107 work for hire, the bricklayers, workers in stucco, carpenters
108 and the guilds of masons, and in addition to these all black-
smith's tools, such as bellows, hammers, tongs, sledge-hammers,
anvils, as well as many sharp saws, axes, hatchets, (wedges)
109 for splitting trees and for crushing stones, knives, chisels[3],
shovels, mats, baskets and so forth All these appliances he
110 gave carefully to the people and also much money, such as

occurs in the canon (M I 175[16], 177[33]) only in the compound *ra labhiratha* which must be translated covered in carriage

[1] Thus I translate *nibandhana* In Skr it means figuratively at least a joint of words a compound

[2] In the Samyutta Comm (I 193[19] of the Siamese ed) *veṇakule* is explained by *vilivākule*

[3] P *kotisa* In skr *kotiśa* means 'barrow according to BR., but this cannot be the case here Some kind of pointed instrument must be meant (cf *koti* 'point)

pearls, precious stones and the like and sent it with the people[1] to his royal son. Thereupon in the devastated land, long
desolate, King Vijayabāhu, happy at heart, had the water 111
system — tanks, ponds, dykes, pools and the like — in 112
which the embankments had given way, and which were deprived of their deep water, dammed up as before, filled with 113
deep water, covered with divers lotus blossoms and stocked
with all kinds of fish. Then he had many valuable fields 114
which had always been ground on which grew every kind of
corn, newly planted, had all kinds of crops grown here and 115
there and made the whole fair land prosperous. And the Ruler 116
restored superb Pulatthinagara as it had been aforetime, surrounded by a moat, deep as the sea, with a fine chain of walls
like to the Cakkavāḷa mountains[2], provided with divers vihāras, 117
surrounded by various monastic parks with divers bathing-ponds,
filled with a variety of cetiyas, sprinkled with various aḍḍha- 118
yogas[3], adorned with divers pāsādas, built over with a variety
of hammiyas[3], embellished with divers maṇḍapas, provided 119
with all sorts of temples to deities, resplendent with every
kind of gate-towers, fair with the rows of divers houses, 120
boasting a variety of streets, with four well-distributed gates, with fine squares and road-crossings.

In this fashion the King had the town of Pulatthinagara 121
— comparable to the city of Indra[4] — restored, so that it surpassed Mithilā, subdued Kañcīpurī, laughed to scorn Sāvatthī, subdued Madhurā, turned to shame Bārāṇasī, reduced Vesālī to nothing and made Campāpurī[5] tremble with her glory.

[1] P. *saha senāya*. *Senā* means here the staff of workers raised by the King.

[2] These are the mountains which are supposed to surround the earth which is conceived of as a disk. Cf. Skr. *cakkabāla*, *-vāḍa*, BR. s. v. 2; W. Kirfel, Kosmographie der Inder, p. 186.

[3] For *aḍḍhayoga* and *hammiya* see above note to v. 93.

[4] Amarāvatī, see 80. 5. The town is described in the Mahābhārata, III. 1714 ff.

[5] A series of the most famous Indian towns. 1) Mithilā, capital of the Videhas, now northern Bihār; 2) Kāñcipurī, in Southern India

Here ends the eighty-eighth chapter, called «The Restoration of Pulatthinagara», in the Mahāvaṃsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious

on the Coromandel Coast, one of the seven sacred towns of India 3) Śrāvastī, capital of the Kośala country in present Nepal (T W Rhys Davids, Buddhist India, p 40), 4) Madhura, here probably the town Mathurā on the Jumna, chief locality of the Śūrasena, mentioned AN II 57 (BR s v *madhura* 3 c), 5) Bārāṇasī, now Benares, 6) Vaisāli, in the Videha country, in Buddhist times the chief locality of the Licchavi clan, like Sāvatthī often mentioned in the sacred Canon, 7) Campā, in the territory of the Angas, now Bhāgalpur on the Ganges, Bihar Note the sacred number seven See also the two notes to 89 4

Chapter LXXXIX

DESCRIPTION OF THE FESTIVAL OF THE KING'S CONSECRATION AND OTHER FESTIVALS

The King spake: "This Pulatthinagara is now thus restored 1
as before, dowered with all that belongs to a city. This town is 2
now radiant with happiness, splendour and beauty. She has
surpassed Jetuttara and will now surpass Sāgalā. After van- 3
quishing Suṃsumāragiri, what need hath she to care for Sā-
keta? Ha! even Rājagaha she wishes to capture as it is. She 4
has destroyed Saṃkassa and now scorns Indapatta. She dares
to challenge[1] Kapilavatthu[2]. Therefore shall the King, the 5

[1] P. *saṃkhyaṃ ussahate kattuṃ.* I think that *saṃkhya* here is = skr. *saṃkhya* and means "fight" (BR. s. v. 4). The Col. Ed. reads *sakhyaṃ* and W. translates: "seeketh friendship with K." This I think is not so good, as *ussahate* has then no meaning. It looks as if the author here as also in 88. 121, by the accumulation of synonyms for the term "surpass", wishes to show his intimacy with the rules of alaṃkāra. Cf. the expressions in Daṇḍin's Kāvyādarśa 2. 62 ff. with those used in this passage.

[2] The author returns here, repeating himself, to the idea already treated in the final strophe of chap. 88. He displays his geographical knowledge which he apparently borrows from the Abhidhānappadīpikā where in v. 200 and 201 all the towns named by him are enumerated: 1) Jettutara, often mentioned in the Jātakas as the capital of the Sivi country (skr. *śibi*). Cf. Fausböll Jāt., Index; 2) Sāgalā, abode of the King Milinda (Milp. ed. Trenckner, p. 1); 3) Suṃsumāragiri, according to M. I. 95, II. 91; S. III. 1, IV. 116; A. II. 61 etc. a town in the country of the Bhaggas (skr. *Bharga*); 4) Sāketa, name of the town Ayodhyā (now Oudh) in the Kosala country. M. I. 149 and often otherwise in the Nikāyas and the Jātaka book; 5) Rājagaha, capital of Māgadha; 6) Saṃkassa (skr. *Sāṃkāśya*), mentioned in the Jātakas, according to JāCo. IV. 265[28] thirty yojanas from Sāvatthī, was situated

chief of kings, even as Sakka, the overlord of the gods, did
6 in the city of Sakka[1], enter this city in all his majesty to
celebrate the festival of the royal consecration " Therewith
7 he sent a messenger to his father When the King heard
from the mouth of the messenger the uninterrupted narrative,
he rejoiced greatly and betook himself at the head of his
8 army with all the mighty pomp worthy of a king, from the
town of Jambuddoṇi to the chief capital (of the kingdom)
9 And King Vijayabāhu went the distance of a gāvuta[2] towards
him and accompanied the Great king to the royal capital
10 For seven days he celebrated in the town the high festival
of the royal consecration and carried it out in the (right)
11 sequence to the end But after he had made over the Northern
province[3] to Vīrabāhu and made him take up his abode in
12 the prosperous royal city, he declared I shall bring the
relics of the Sage to this royal city, and betook himself with
his royal father to the town of Jambuddoṇi

13 Hereupon the King gathered together a great multitude
of the inhabitants of Lankā and had the great highway from
14 the town of Jambuddoṇi to splendid Pulatthinagara, five yo-
janas[4] wide made level and throughout, always at a distance
15 of half a yojana, he had a costly rest-house built, gracefully
(adorned) with festive banners, rows of bananas, triumphal
16 arches and the like Thereupon he placed the two relics of
the great Seer, Tooth and Bowl, on a high chariot which was
17 fair in its splendour as a heavenly chariot With numerous

to the west of Kaṇyakubja (now Kanauj) between the Ganges and the Jumna (cf Vin II 299) 7) Indapatta (skr *Indraprastha*) town in the Kuru territory on the site of the present Delhi 8) Kapilavatthu, capital of the Sākyas in the territory of the present Nepal, birthplace of Buddha

[1] See note to 88 121

[2] About two miles

[3] The expression is *raṭṭham uttamam* quite in the sense of Rajaraṭṭha or Patiṭṭharaṭṭha

[4] *According to* the context, this would be the whole distance from Jambuddoṇi to Pulatthinagara. But the distance is much greater, about 75 miles as the crow flies (5 y = 45 miles)

groups of the bhikkhu community who, paying homage, en-
circled[1] on every side the incomparable, splendid, festive chariot,
of the sacred relics, as if they were the hosts of the Brahmas 18
who surround the sacred chariot of Brahma, he set forth from
the superb city, great Jambuddoṇī. The sacrificial festival
which he arranged[2] was beautified by the people entrusted 24
with the various duties[3] who letting unceasingly their cries of
Hail! resound, went before or followed after[4] and bore with
them for the sacrificial festival umbrellas of gold and pearl, 19
golden fly-whisks, inlaid with pearl, banners of gold and pearl,
wreaths set with gold and pearl, further golden and silver 20
jars[5], fans of gold and silver, golden and silver vases, golden
and silver shells, golden and silver bowls, golden and silver 21
urns, golden and silver basins, golden and silver mirrors,
golden and silver banana trees, tiny shells of gold and silver, 22
golden and silver horses, golden and silver elephants, as well 23
as countless silver and golden lamp-stands and the rest. The
festival was surrounded by rows of elephants excellent by 25
reason of the elephant ornaments by which they were o'er-
spread[6], by rows of steeds worth seeing for the abundance of
every kind of equine ornament, by the ranks of heroic warriors 26
who with divers weapons in their hands and wearing warlike
ornament, played their war games, by the ranks of princes, 27

[1] Thus I translate *samantā sevamānehi*. This *sevamānehi* is like the attribute to *bhikkhusaṃghagaṇehi*, also to *brahmasamūhehi* and governs the acc. *rathaṃ* in 17a as well as in 17 d.

[2] This is taken from v. 36 a *mahāpūjaṃ pavattento*. The following accusatives are attributes of *mahāpūjaṃ*: *manoharaṃ* (v. 24 d), *parisevitaṃ* (v. 27 d), *maṇḍitaṃ* (v. 28 d), *parivāritaṃ* (v. 30 d), *parighositaṃ* (v. 32 d), *pasaṃsitaṃ* (v. 34 b), *thomitaṃ* (v. 34 c) and *parisevitaṃ* (v. 35 d).

[3] F. *taṃ-taṃ-dhurā-niyuttehi* (v. 24 c). The people meant are those who have particular functions to perform at a sacrificial festival.

[4] Taken from vv. 23-24, *purato pacchato pi ca . . . gacchantehi . . . manussehi*. *Gahetvā* in v. 23 c by which the accusatives in v. 19 to 23 a b are governed, is subordinate to *gacchantehi*. The people carry their votive offerings with them in the procession.

[5] Should not the reading here be *-kumbhe pi* rather than *-kumbhehi*?

[6] Lit.: "by the outspreading (*vitthāra*) of the elephant ornaments."

28 nobles and councillors who wore festive clothing and flaunted
manifold ornament The glory (of the festival) was enhanced
29 by the cries of people who thirsting for merit shouted O hail!
30 O hail! O hail! The festival was surrounded by serried rows
of lay sisters and lay brethren who led pure lives and who
in their zeal each for himself pressed forward bearing flowers
31 and the like as offerings Around it raged the uproar of
sturdy palace servitors who were ever and again now here
32 now there, well beaten in fun by other sturdy palace servitors
as if they were people fighting out a mighty quarrel with one
33 another It was filled with the songs of praise[1] of the bards
who sang festive songs, making thereto on the five instruments
34 fine music which spread abroad and charmed[2] the hearers,
also with the songs of the minstrels who again and again let
35 their praises resound In devotion there surrounded it the
dancers and the actors who performed dances and sang songs
36 delightful to see and to hear Thus performing by degrees
in perfect order the high sacrifice, he was wont when in mov-
37 ing along the decorated road, he came to the previously
erected rest-houses, to set up the relics in each of these, (he)
performed each time a high festival, started again from each
38 (rest-house), continued ever on his way and so brought by
degrees the relics of the Prince of the wise to the royal
capital[3]

39 Then after the King had turned the whole city into a
single great place of festival — at a favorable moment when
40 constellation, day and hour were auspicious, in the ancient,
decorated relic temple, fair as the palace of the King of the
41 gods — most splendid of all temples — he solemnly and in
careful manner placed the two relics on a costly throne em-
42 bellished by all manner of jewels From that time onwards,

[1] Lit was praised by and belauded by

[2] P *savaṇiyataraṃ* lit 'very well worth hearing

[3] Vv 16 38 form one sentence The principal verb is *dināyi* (v 38 d with the immediately preceding gerunds) The gerunds *saṃṭhapetvā* v 16 c and *nikkhamitvā* v 18 c are subordinate to *pavattento mahāpujaṃ* (along with the attributes belonging to it cf notes to vv 18 and 24(19)

54 community, King Vijayabāhu betook himself thither He
issued the invitation. "Let us take in hand the arrangement
55 of a festival for admission to the Order Let all the Grand
theras, all the middle-aged and the youthful who have trust
56 in their hearts towards us, the lords among the ascetics not
fail to come to Sahassatittha," and (he) sent messengers
57 everywhere (with the invitation)[1] When all the individual
groups of ascetics settled in Tambapaṇṇi heard this news, they
58 rejoiced greatly and set forth on their way from every quarter,
without allowing even the administrator of their provisions to
59 remain behind, and in haste the heroes among the ascetics
60 assembled by degrees well prepared in Sahassatittha[2] The
King who again and again[3] surveyed Sahassatittha surrounded
61 as it was with ascetics felt a befitting[4] joy, and in abundant
measure the Ruler supplied the Great bhikkhu community as
62 was seemly, with excellent food and drink Then celebrating
day by day here in Sahassatittha a great sacrificial festival,
63 he made those bhikkhus who were called thereto, perform
the ceremony of admission for those who were desirous of
entering the Order, and celebrated the ceremony of admission
64 to the Order for half a month Thereupon the King granted
the rank of a Grand Master[5], the rank of a Chief Thera[6],
the rank of a Grand Thera and the rank of a Pariveṇa-Thera[7]
65 to such (bhikkhus) who because they had brought about the
prosperity of the Order, deserved to receive this or that rank

[1] Vv 47 56 form one sentence which opens with three loc abs *karāpite* (49 a) *sajjāpitesu* (50 c) and *ānitesu* (53 c)

[2] P *agantvā* (with the acc of the place) *samnipatimsu* is merely periphrastic

[3] P *muhum*, used in the same way as the double *muhum muhum* The same in Jā. V 32[27] *kim mam muhum pekkhasi hatthalomo* (*muhum* being explained by the commentary as *punappuna*)

[4] P *sulabha* Cf skr *labha*, BR s v, 1 b The joy corresponds to the great number of bhikkhus who have put in an appearance.

[5] P *mahāsāmipada* Cf note to 53 23

[6] P *mula(thera)pada* Cf 69 34 *mulāmacca*

[7] P *theraparivenādikam padam* seems to mean 'the rank where the word *pariveṇa* precedes thera

Then having bestowed on them the eight articles of use, fair, 66
worthy of a king, to the value of a thousand (gold pieces),
and also to the other ascetics in succession, costly articles of 67
use, he sent many remaining articles of use to the bhikkhus
settled in the Paṇḍu and Coḷa countries. Then when all his 68
wishes had received fulfilment, he guided by right knowledge[1],
sent a messenger to his father and announced to him: "All 69
meritorious works which I have performed I have performed
in the name of my royal father."

Thus in granting admission to the Order to numerous 70
ascetics at the great ford of the Vālikā river called Sahassa,
in the correctly drawn[2] boundary, known as the 'throwing
up of the waters'[3], he made lustrous the nine-fold doctrine[4]
of the sublime Buddha.

After he had for a long time made over the burden of 71
government[5] to his own world-famed son, this most excellent

[1] P. *ñāṇapubbaṃgamaṃ katvā*, "placing right knowledge at the head." He was conscious that he was only his father's representative. W. uses the words in the oratio recta and translates: "What-soever merit hath been performed by me with a pure mind."

[2] P. *parisodhita*, lit. purified.

[3] P. *ukkhepasīmā*, a term difficult to explain and occurring again 94. 17 and 97. 12. It has reference to the ceremony being performed in a building erected in a lake or in a river (see above note to 87. 71). The boundary which must enclose the space set apart for ecclesiastical functions must thus be drawn in the water. In fixing it water would have to be "thrown up" (skr. *kṣip* with *ud*), just as the earth is thrown up in fixing a boundary on land. W's note gives a correct definition: "a space in a sheet of water, duly defined, for purposes of ordination and other ecclesiastical functions" But this does not explain the etymology of the expression.

[4] P. *navaṅgikaṃ sāsanaṃ*. The nine "members" (*aṅgāni*) of the holy scriptures are 1) *sutta* "discourse"; 2) *geyya*, the same with an admixture of verse; 3) *veyyākaraṇa* "exposition" without verse (chiefly the Abhidhamma); 4) *gāthā* "stanza"; 5) *udāna*; 6) *itivuttaka*; 7) *jātaka*, the well known three books belonging to the tipiṭaka; 8) *abbhutadhamma* "discourses relating to mysterious conditions"; 9) *vedalla*, title of some special suttas.

[5] P. *bhūbhāra*, lit. "burden of the earth". Cf. skr. [illegible] "prince, ruler".

King Parakkamabāhu who as described[1], performed through his son an abundance of meritorious works, entered heaven when he had attained his thirty-fifth year (of reign)[2]

Here ends the eighty-ninth chapter, called »Description of the Festival of the King's Consecration and Other Festivals», in the Mahāvamsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious

[1] *evam evam* even in this way

[2] According to Rajav 32 years, Pujav 33 years The number given in the Mhvs includes those years when Vijayabahu carried on the government The latter is called Bōsat Vijayabāhu by the Nik s as well as by the Rajaratn

CHAPTER XC

THE HISTORY OF THE EIGHT KINGS, OF VIJAYABĀHU AND HIS SUCCESSORS

Now in the second year of King Vijayabāhu[1] who after 1
Parakkamabāhu's death, held sway over all Laṅkā, one of his 2
generals, Mitta by name, a faithless friend[2], won over as as-
sociate a slave belonging to the immediate entourage of the
King. Out of lust for dominion the recreant made him whom 3
he had bribed by gifts, slay the Ruler at night. Now when 4
the younger brother of the King, the King Bhuvanekabāhu[3] 5
heard of this event, he left the town of Jambuddoṇī, mounted
in his fear a covered litter[4] and sped on his way to the
fortress of Subhācala[5]. But people who had received gifts 6
from the hands of the evil general Mitta, and were therefore
bound to him from the outset, nine wicked, brutal brothers 7
from the clan of the Monasīhas[6], pursued him and pitilessly
pierced the Monarch's litter so fiercely with their pointed spears 8
that everything — seat, girths and the like[7] were in tatters.

[1] Rājāv. jumps from Vijayabāhu IV., passing over his immediate successors, to the history of Alakeśvara and the Chinese invasion. See note to 91. 14.

[2] P. *dummitta* with reference to the general's name *mitta* "friend".

[3] Rājaratn. calls him Lokekabāhu Bhuvanekabāhu, Nik.-s. Mahābhuvanaikabāhu.

[4] P. *yāna*, used of every kind of conveyance. W's translation "litter" is undoubtedly right.

[5] Subhācala is like its synonyms: Subhagiri, Subhapabbata, Sundarapabbata, the name for the present so-called Yāpahu.

[6] See note to 38. 13.

[7] P. *andolipaṭṭakādikaṃ*. The seats of these litters were evidently suspended in girths to counterbalance the shaking. Hense the expression *andoli* "swing", while *paṭṭaka* means the girths.

9 He (Bhuvanekabāhu) sprang to the ground from the litter and betook himself in haste, unharmed, to the village of Kāla-
10 gallaka[1] Here from a stall where elephants were tethered[2],
11 he *took* a specially good elephant, mounted it and having again crossed the great Kolabhinna river then in flood, the King reached that selfsame Subhagiri
12 Now the *Senāpati Mitta forced his way into the town of* Jambuddoṇi, into the palace of the Great king, seated himself
13 on the splendid lion throne of the Great king, and showed himself, the recreant, to the whole army his person adorned with
14 the *royal ornaments* But *now* all the dignitaries who sup-
15 ported him, came together, one following the other They thought "We must under all circumstances win over by (means of) proper pay the whole army, that part belonging to our
16 own country as well as the alien part." They began in the first instance, to hand over their pay to the chivalrous Āriya
17 warriors[3] at the head of whom was Thakuraka But these declared "We have at all times been people who one felt *must* be *won over* Now *ye must under all circumstances,*
18 *first of all by good pay win over* the Sihala warriors and make them contented" And none of them now accepted the
19 pay "Be it so", answered the others They paid all the Sihalas their money and then called upon the Ariya to take
20 their pay But again they refused with the words "Our pay
21 shall be handed to us later, we shall not take it now" So although *all the ministers ever and again urgently pressed*
22 them[4] to accept their pay, the well-armed[5] Ariya knights

[1] Probably Kalugallagama in the Kudagalboda Korale NNW from Kurunegala

[2] P *gajabandhaniyam* is the loc of *dhanī* (fem of *dhana*)

[3] In contrast to the Sīhalas these must be South Indian mercenaries. The reader is referred to the tribe of the Ariya mentioned in 61 36 and 63 15. This (not *āriya*) would be at any rate the correct form of the name according to the phonetic rules of Pali See also below v 44

[4] P *nibandham karoti* makes an urgent petition Cf VvCo 260 [5] *devī punappunam nibandham karoti* the queen urged him again and again (to fulfil her wish)

[5] P *sajjitā* This is obviously meant to call attention to the

declared: "We shall say everything in the presence of the King." They betook themselves to the King's abode and when 23
they saw the Senāpati Mitta sitting on the lion throne, they stood for a time respectfully there. Then the warrior Ṭha- 24
kuraka who was possessed of an undaunted heart, gave his comrades a sign, took his sharp sword and in a moment 25
swiftly struck off the Senāpati's head so that it fell to the ground. Now when hereupon a great hubbub arose in the 26
town, all the Sīhala soldiers who were a mighty force, banded themselves together and asked the Āriya soldiers with Ṭha- 27
kuraka at their head: "Why have ye done this evil deed?" They replied: "It took place at the command of King Bhu- 28
vanekabāhu who abides in Subhagiri." With the words: "Be 29
it so", all the Āriya and Sīhala warriors united and brought the King, their lord, Bhuvanekabāhu from the town of Subha- 30
giri to the town of Jambuddoṇī and with reverence consecrated him King.

From that time onward the King made the whole double 31
army obedient to his will by assigning them salaries and the like, drove back all the Damiḷa foes, like Kāliṅgarāyara, 32
Coḷagaṅgadeva and the rest who had landed from the opposite coast, as also the Vanni kings in Sīhala, Kadalīvāṭa, Āpāna, 33
Tipa, Himiyānaka and so on, and freed Laṅkā from the briers 34
of the foe. He took up his abode for several years in the town of Jambuddoṇī, betook himself thereupon to the town 35
of Subhagiri, had built here an extensive royal city, gleaming in the beauty, and abode there.

As he then won over all his subjects by a just policy, he 36
was a just king and a believing adherent of the Doctrine. He 37
bestowed on the skilful scribes of the sacred books abundant money and had the whole of the Tipiṭaka copied by them, 38
had it preserved here and there in the vihāras of Laṅkā, and thus the Lord of men caused the dissemination of the sacred texts[1]. Several times, too, the Ruler caused the festival 39

threatening aspect of the situation. The Āriyas are fully armed throughout the negotiations.

[1] P. *pālidhamma* could also mean "the Doctrine in the Pāli tongue".

of admission to the Order — which is a festival for the world — to be so celebrated that it was radiant with the splendid
40 offerings made, and thus he brought growth and prosperity to the Order of the Sage — the Order whose sublime greatness must be reverenced by the (inhabitants of the) three
41 worlds He celebrated daily a great sacrifice for the Tooth Relic and he provided the bhikkhu community with the four articles of equipment

42 In this wise he wrought good, while dwelling in Subhagiri and after carrying on the government for 11 years, he entered heaven

43 Once when (here in Laṅkā) a famine arose[1], there landed, sent with an army by the five brothers, the kings who held
44 sway in the Paṇḍu realm, a Damiḷa general known by the name of Āriyacakkavattin who though he was no Ārīya[2] was
45 yet a great dignitary of great power. He laid waste the kingdom in every direction and entered the proud stronghold, the town
46 of Subhagiri The sacred Tooth Relic[3] and all the costly treasures there he seized and returned with them to the Paṇḍu
47 kingdom There he made over the Tooth Relic to King Kulasekhara[4] who was as the sun for the lotus blossom of the stem of the great kings of the Paṇḍus

[1] There is a gap in the text here Of v 43a the MSS have only *chātasmim* five syllables are therefore wanting The Col Ed supplements *jāyamanasmim* I should prefer *chatasmim idha jātasmim*, because the similarity of the first and third words would make the slip of the writer of the archetype easily intelligible

[2] See above, note to v 16

[3] According to 89 41 Vijayabahu had deposited the Tooth and Bowl Relics in Pulatthinagara. Evidently his successor had brought them back to Subhagiri to the town built by him there, a theory supported by 90 41 The Sinhalese kings liked to keep the palladium of the kingdom in their immediate neighbourhood *It is remarkable* how in the later parts of the Mhvs the *pattadhātu* is relegated to the background — it is only just mentioned again in 90 72 — and how the whole religious and political interest centres in the *dāthādhātu*

[4] Kulasekhara reigned 1268—1308 (H W Codrington, HC p 80) *His* general Ariya Cakravartin is mentioned in a South Indian inscription (No 110 in Annual Report of Epigraphy, Southern Circle, Madras Government, 1903 according to Codrington, l c. p 87).

Hereupon the son of the Bodhisatta Vijayabāhu[1] and grand- 48
son of the mighty King Parakkamabāhu (II.), Parakkama- 49
bāhu by name, became king and raised aloft — as if to fend
off like a cloud the heat from the people who dwelt in 50
Laṅkā — the umbrella (of dominion), the emblem of its proud
kings — fair through the cool shade (it gave) and like to the
disk of the full moon. And he reflected: "That Tooth Relic 51
which was taken to the Paṇḍu kingdom — that relic of the
Prince of the wise, our highest protecting deity, worthy of
veneration by our race, how shall I bring it back from there?" 52
And as the Ruler saw no other means but friendly negotiation,
he set forth in the company of several able warriors, betook 53
himself to the Paṇḍu kingdom and sought out the Ruler of
the Paṇḍus. By daily conversations he inclined him favourably,
received from the hands of the King the Tooth Relic, returned 54
to the Island of Laṅkā and placed the relic in superb Pu- 55
latthinagara in the former relic temple. Then the Ruler took 56
up his abode in this city and began to carry on the govern-
ment without transgressing the precepts laid down for kings[2].
The King performed daily a festival for the Tooth Relic and 57
accumulated unweariedly a great abundance of meritorious
works. He provided the bhikkhu community with robes and 58
the other articles of use and thus having furthered the laity
and the Order, he fell under the power of death.

The son of Bhuvanekabāhu, the ruler of the town of 59
Subhagiri[3], Bhuvanekabāhu became king in Hatthigiri-

[1] See 88. 35 and note. The Mhvs. tells us nothing of the fate of the younger brothers of Bhuvanekabāhu I.: Tilokamalla, Parakkamabāhu and Jayabāhu (88. 19-20). Evidently they died before Bhuvanekabāhu.

[2] P. *rājanīti*. W's translation "laws of Manu" is too restricted.

[3] With reference to a fragmentary interpolation in three MSS. after the line 59ab see my edition as well as W's note on p. 316. The translation would run as follows: "With the constant thought: the son of Bhuvanekabāhu, the ruler of the town of Subhagiri, the prince by name Bhuvanekabāhu, cherishes the desire for (usurping) the royal dignity at a future time, the King Parakkamabāhu ordered a barber with the help of the king's people to put out both his eyes although

60 pura[1] The Lord of men wishing to acquire merit, rejoicing
in generosity and other good deeds, instituted permanently a
61 regular alms of food for the bhikkhu community Every year
the King celebrated in a manner worthy of the highest kingly
power, the festival of his coronation and in conjunction with
62 that in the Jeṭṭhamūla[2] month, after an opulent sacrificial
festival, he had the ceremony of admission to the Order
performed Thus he made the Order of the Victor shine
63 brightly After having performed these and many other
meritorious works in manifold ways, the second[3] Bhuvaneka-
bāhu also fell a victim to impermanence
64 His still more eminent son, Parakkamabāhu[4], wise and
dowered with courage, was (thereupon king) in the superb
65 city With the love of faith in the three (sacred) objects, he
assembled the bhikkhus and made them perform several times
66 over the ceremony of admission to the Order In the royal
courtyard he erected in careful fashion a temple for the Tooth
Relic, fair with its walls and pillars, painted with bright-hued
67 pictures, provided with golden spires[5], with gate posts of
68 gold, splendid, three storeys high There he set up a canopy
69 of coloured stuffs, strips of cloth and the like This he decorated

he was his younger brother (cousin) The last words are un intelligible because the sentence has been left unfinished

[1] The text here has like 99 77 the synonym *Hatthiselapura* (Kurunegala) The Nik s calls the king Vat himi bhuvanaikabahu

[2] June—July

[3] The Col Ed has *dutiye* and W translated accordingly in the second year of his reign CODRINGTON (C A L R X 2 p 91) emended this into *dutiyo* and this emendation is confirmed by all the MSS known to me CODRINGTON, (HC p 82) points out quite rightly that according to the Dalada sirita the King must have reigned at *least 9 years* The wording of v 61 points also to a longer reign Rajaratn gives the number of years reigned and the number of the coronation *festivals* as 24

[4] Nik s and Rajaratn call him Panḍitaparakramabahu For *dn* in 64 d 91 9 with note should be compared The ascent of the throne by Parakkamabāhu IV took place according to the Dalada sirita in the Saka year 1247 = 1325/6 A D (CODRINGTON l c)

[5] P *singa* = skr *sṛnga*, BR. s v 1 f Cf 90 90

with garlands of gold, silver and pearl which hung down on
all sides and he attached to it a wall of silken curtains adorned 70
therewith[1]. Here (in the tent) he spread a seat, radiant with
coloured draperies, and decorated it on every side with rows 71
of golden and silver vases and with rows of candelabra of
silver, gold and precious stones. On this seat he then full of 72
reverence, placed the casket with the Tooth Relic and the
casket with the Bowl Relic. Hereupon he set about performing 75
day by day a great sacrificial festival in worthy fashion for
the relics of the Master — a festival glorious with flowers 73
and perfumes and with lamps and incense, provided with all
foods soft and solid and with all that one drinks or sips,
beautified by the reverberating[2] sound of the five musical 74
instruments, fair through the dances and songs performed by
the dancing girls and the actors, preparing delight for the
world. With villages and fields, women slaves and men slaves, 76
with elephants, cattle, buffaloes and other gifts he celebrated
a sacrificial festival for the relics. With the reflection: "What 77
the daily ceremonial was in the lifetime of the Enlightened
One, the highest guide of the whole world, that of the Tooth
Relic shall be from this day henceforth," the King composed 78
in the Sīhala tongue a work expounding this, with the title
"Ceremonial of the Tooth Relic[3]" and in keeping with it he 79
performed daily a daily ceremony for the relic[4].

[1] This is the description of a kind of tent. First its ceiling (up to 68 c) is described and then the side walls. The instrumentals in 68 d and 69 a b must belong to the gerund *alaṃkariya*, but at the same time to *sobhitaṃ* through the medium of *olambamānāhi*.

[2] P. *vijumbhamāna*, otherwise as a rule *vijambh*. Cf. skr. *jrambh*, *jṛmbhate*.

[3] P. *dāṭhādhātucāritta*, rendering of the Sinh. *daḷadāsirita*. The work — it was mentioned above, note to 90. 63 — still exists. See Geiger, Literatur und Sprache der Singhalesen, p. 9.

[4] The passage is significant. It shows that in Ceylon just as in the temples of Egypt a daily ritual was observed wherein the relics (and the images, cf. the allusions in 38. 56, 53. 30) took the place of the living and present Buddha. See Arthur A. Perera C. A. L. R. VI. 2, p. 67 f., and above Cūlavaṃsa I, p. 359, note 4. Cf. also below 97. 33, 101. 4.

80 To the office of royal teacher the King appointed a Grand
thera from the Cola country, a self-controlled man, versed in
81 various tongues and intimate with philosophic works Ever
and again he heard from him continuously all the Jātakas,
82 learned them (by heart) and retained their contents Then he
rendered by degrees these five hundred and fifty beautiful
83 Jātakas from the Pāli tongue into the Sihala speech[1]. He
recited them in the midst of the Grand theras who were
84 intimate with the three Piṭakas, and after correcting them,
he had them written down and distributed throughout Laṅkā.
85 And these Jātakas he made over to a wise thera, Medhaṃkara
by name, whom he had gained for the purpose, that they
86 might be preserved in the succession of his disciples and
thereby handed down still further Then after having built
87 for him a pariveṇa with the King's own name, he assigned him
the four villages of Purāṇagāma, Sannirasela, Labujamaṇḍaka
88 and Moravanka In the vihāra of Titthagāma[2] where the big,
89 long pāsāda forty-five cubits in size erected by the great
Vijayabāhu[3], had fallen into decay, King Parakkamabāhu
90 himself built a beautiful, long pāsāda[4] of thirty cubits in size,
two storeys high, provided with lofty spires[5], glorious with

[1] This translation of the Jātakas bears the Sinhalese title *Pansiyapanas jataka* See Geiger l c p 6 Probably the king was not himself the author of the Jataka translation But he may have started the work, and it was an act of courtesy on the part of the translators that they ascribed it to the king Cf Wickremasinghe, Catalogue of Sinh Manuscr in the Br Mus, p 118 ff, Malalasekera, Pali Literature of Ceylon, p 127

[2] Without doubt this is the present Totagamuva, about a mile north of Hikkaduva not far from the coast in the Galle District. Srī Rāhula Thera, the author of the Sālalihini sandesa is called after it.

[3] Vijayabāhu IV with the epithet of Bodhisatta, thence called 'The great' here

[4] In the description of the architectural works of Parakkamabāhu I in Pulatthinagara *dīghapasāda* and *culapāsāda* are constantly contrasted with each other (see 78 36, 37, 50) We have evidently to do with particular architectural terms

[5] See above note to v 66.

bright-hued painting, and assigned it then to the venerable 91
Grand thera Kāyasatti who dwelt in the Vijayabāhu-pariveṇa[1].
He also granted him a village, called Sālaggāma, on the banks 92
of the river[2] forming the boundary (of the monastery), making
it a possession of the pariveṇa. In fair Titthagāma he had a 93
park laid down, provided with five thousand cocopalms. In 94
Devapura[3] he built a long temple consisting of two storeys,
provided with four pairs of gates for the image of the recumbent
lion[4]. To this temple he assigned the grove-encircled village 95
Gaṇṭhimāna by name which he proclaimed as the property of
the Buddha. In the vihāra of Valligāma[5] the Ruler erected a 96
long pāsāda, consisting of two storeys, which after his own
name, was called Parakkamabāhu(-pāsāda), and granted it the 97
(village) Sāligiri[6] by name as a large maintenance village be-
longing to the Great community. In fair Viddumagāma, not far 98
from the town of Rājagāma he had a splendid vihāra built,
connected with the Sirighanānanda-pariveṇa, with a bodhi tree 99
and an image-house and assigned it to his teacher, the Grand
thera from the Coḷa country[7]. Thereupon he founded in the 100
charming district of Māyādhanu[8] a new town with fine walls
and gate-towers. There he had a fair temple erected to 101
the gods with lofty spires and two storeys, provided with
walls and gate-towers, placed there a glorious statue of 102

[1] Cf. 81. 58.

[2] All the MSS. have *upa sīmanadītīraṃ*. *Sīmanadī* might also be the name of the river. The emendation of the Col. Ed. into *Gimhanadī* (now Ginganga; cf. 75. 22, *gimhatittha* = Gintota) is certainly tempting, but I do not venture a departure from the uniform reading of the MSS.

[3] Devapura or Devanagara = Devundara, Dondra. See 60. 59.

[4] I. e. the recumbent Buddha who is always compared to a lion at rest.

[5] See 80. 38.

[6] W. points to *Elgiriya*, a village in the Veligama Korale, 6 miles NNE. of Veligama and 10 miles NW. of Matara.

[7] See above v. 80 f.

[8] The territory whose centre was Sītāvaka about 25 miles E. of Colombo.

the lotus-hued King of the gods (Viṣṇu) and celebrated a great sacrificial festival.

103 After performing such and other good deeds for the laity and the Order and many meritorious works, he fell under the power of death

104 Gifted with the power of meritorious works which he had performed formerly, he after attaining worthless wealth, renounced desire and did nought but good, finding above all pleasure in doing his best[1]. Thinking of what is best for you and on universal impermanance, decide, O ye pious people, whose wealth is faith, for meritorious works[2] amongst which generosity and moral discipline have first place[3].

105 After his death Vannibhuvanekabāhu was king and
106 after his death came King Vijayabāhu But after the death of these kings the all-wise Bhuvanekabāhu[4], the fourth, was ruler in Gaṅgāsiripura[5] situated in the charming vicinity

[1] The acc *attattham* must be governed by *rato* This, it is true, is otherwise construed with the loc.

[2] P *katvā ganhatha* is a verbal combination witnessing to Sinhalese influence The equivalent in Sinh for which however, I have no example in the literature, would be *kotagannavā* Since *gannava* gives a reflec tive sense to the verb to which it is attached, *katva ganhatha* means do for yourselves what is for your advantage

[3] With verse 102 or 104 the second part of the Cūlavaṃsa which begins with chapter 80, comes to an end The MSS also indicate this Cf my ed I p IV of the Introd, as well as the notes to the passage If we assume that it closed originally with v 102, which is indicated by two of the MSS, then there was added later a summarizing sloka and then a strophe in artificial metre Exactly the same thing occurs at the close of the first part (79 84) The addition was evidently intended to veil the break in the text and lead over to the new part.

[4] (Vanni) Bhuvanaikabahu, Vijayabāhu and the fourth Bhuvanaikabahu are also mentioned by the Nik. s and Rājaratn, as successors of Parakkamabahu IV The inscription of the Lankatilaka vihāra belongs to Bhuvanekabāhu IV (see B Gunasekara, JRAS, C B X, nr 34, 1887, p 83 ff) He built this and the Gadaladeniya vihāra. See note to 91. 30 The King s minister Senalankādhikara who is named in the inscr, is also mentioned in Nik. s

[5] Gampola, see 86 18

of the Mahāvālukagaṅgā — a religious man, a mine of fair vir- 107
tues. He who gives heed to tradition, let him know that in 108
the fourth year of his reign, one thousand, eight hundred and
ninety-four years had elapsed since the Nirvana of the Sage[1].
When ye have understood how in antiquity the most ex- 109
cellent men when they had experienced the time hard to
experience[2] of a Buddha, did good unweariedly without ceasing, such as almsgiving and so forth, so ought ye in perfect fashion to perform all good (deeds).

Here ends the ninetieth Chapter, called «The History of the eight Kings, of Vijayabāhu and his Successors», in the Mahāvaṃsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

[1] I. e. 1350 A. D. The same in Nik.-s., but Rājaratn. has the figures 1896 = 1352 A. D. Both numbers are approximative. According to the Laṅkātilaka inscription Bhuvanekabāhu IV. ascended the throne already in 1266 of the Śaka era, i. e. 1344-5 A. D. For the whole subject see H. W. Codrington, HC. p. 83. 88.

[2] *Dullabbhanīyam atidullabha-* is merely tautological, *labbhanīya* is furthermore a spurious form, made to suit the metre.

CHAPTER XCI

HISTORY OF THE FOUR KINGS, OF PARAKKAMABĀHU AND HIS SUCCESSORS

1 Now after the death of Bhuvanekabāhu there were two
kings, Parakkamabāhu[1] and the discerning Vikkamabāhu[2]
2 There lived then at the time of Vikkamabāhu in the fair town
known by the name of Peraddoṇi[3], situated in the charming
3 neighbourhood of the Mahā(vāluka)gaṅgā, an eminent prince,
sprung from the Giri family, the discerning Alagakkonāra[4]
4 by name, adorned with majesty, faith and other virtues, full
of the desire to further the laity and the Order, of great might
5 "The town of Kalyāṇi shines with her palaces, bodhi
trees, her superb cloisters and maṇḍapas, with walls, halls,
image temples and cetiyas, with her gorgeous shops, her
6 splendid gate-towers and arches" Now to the South of
this town Kalyāṇi which is described in such words, which

[1] According to the Hapugastenna inscr (JRAS, C B xxii, nr 65, p 362, Codrington HC, p 89) Parakkamabāhu V ascended the throne simultaneously with Bhuvanekabāhu IV in the year 1344/5 He reigned for a time (probably till 1356/7) with him and after that along with Vikkamabāhu IV (III according to C)

[2] For inscrs of the time of Vikkamabāhu IV see Bell, Report on the Kégalla District, p 78 According to the inscr of Vigulavatta (not far from Gampola), the fourth year of the King's reign coincides with the end of the Saka year 1282 = 1360 A D, his ascent of the throne falls therefore in 1356/7 A D

[3] I e Peradeniya not far from Kandy on the Mahaveliganga.

[4] Our chronicle makes short work of the undoubtedly eminent personality of this man There is a good deal more about the founder of Jayavaḍḍhana in the Rājāv, the Rājaratn and the Nik. s. What is above all important is that Alagakkonāra succeeded in breaking the power of the Jaffna king which was then at its height. Cf also below note to v 9 For the Kitsirimevan inscription of Kelani and the Alagakkonāra mentioned in it see C A L R I, p 152, II, p 149, 182.

was visited by the great Sage, in a place where pious people dwelt, who were devoted[1] to the Buddha and so forth, on the great lake not far from the spacious village of Dārugāma[2], 7
he built the famous town of Jayavaḍḍhanakoṭṭa[3], embellished with great trains of walls, with gateways, bastions and the like. While he dwelt in the town, the mighty one, craving 8
for meritorious works, performed many good deeds, such as the furthering of the Order and the rest. In that town the 9
fifth Bhuvanekabāhu[4] was (king), religious, venerating with constant reverence the Buddha and the other (sacred) objects.

[1] The single words in this compound are placed with great freedom. *Buddhādiyuttajanakappitasādhuṭhāne* stands evidently for *buddhādi-yutta-sādhu-jana-kappita-ṭhāne*. *Buddhādi* stands for Buddha, Dhamma and Saṃgha. *Yutta* means in the first place "joined with something", then "hanging on, adhering to something"; *kappita* means "provided with something".

[2] The village is called so in the Rājaratn. Thus *Dāruugama?* in the Mhvs. stands instead of *uru-Dārugama?*.

[3] Later simply called Cotta by the Portuguese. The town covered what are now the eastern districts of Colombo.

[4] As in 90.64, *āsi*, thus *ahu* must be supplemented by *raja*, or else *ahu* (*āsi*) has the more pregnant meaning "he lived, he reigned". I do not believe that the Mhvs. considers Bhuvanekabāhu to be the name under which Alagakkonāra reigned. This opinion is found only in the Rājaratn., when it says: *Alagakkon nam mantriśvarayāno Bhuvanekabāhu-nam mahāraja-va Gaṅgasiripura rajyaśriya-ṭa pāmiṇa devalova giyēya* "The great minister Alagakkōn by name who had become king under the name of Bhuvanekabāhu went, after enjoying in Gaṅgāsiripura the good fortune of the royal dignity, to the world of the gods." But in the Mhvs. we should, in this case, expect an *iti* or *ti nāmena* after *Bhuvanekabhujo*. The assumption that Alagakkonāra and Bhuvanekabāhu are one and the same has now been given up (cf. JRAS. C. B. XXIV, nr. 68, p. 103, note *) above all because in the Attanagalu-vihāra-vaṃsa it is said that the work was translated in the Śaka year 1304 (= 1382/3) in the reign of Bhuvanekabāhu, at the instigation of Alakeśvara (or Alagakkonāra). — The tradition followed by the Rājaratn. probably confuses Alagakkonāra with his son Vīra Alakeśvara who (under the name of Vijayabāhu) is said to have reigned a number of years as king, though after Vīrabāhu's death. For further particulars see E. W. Perera, Alakéswara: his Life and Times, JRAS. C. B. xviii, Nr. 55 (1904), p. 281 ff.; H. W. Codrington, HC., p. 85, 89. Cf. below, note to v. 14.

10 To the community he dispensed in abundant measure regular
repasts and other alms and to achieve the furtherance of the
11 Order, he gathered the bhikkhus together, ascertained those
who lived immoral lives and had them cast forth from the
Order, but he showed favour to the conscientious obtained for
them the precedence and so made the Order of the Victor
12 shine For seven thousand pieces of silver he had a casket
fashioned, preserved in it the Tooth Relic and sacrificed to it
in lasting reverence
13 When the time of this King — after he had held sway
for twenty years[1] — had expired, a man called Virabāhu
14 attained the royal dignity, did likewise all (that was good)
such as furthering the Order and fell under the power of the
King of death[2]

[1] The 20th year of the reign of Bhuvanekabahu V falls in the year 1391/2 A D the beginning of the reign accordingly in 1372/3 It seems however that he reigned for some time if only in name together with Virabahu Cf S de Silva Vijaya Bâhu VI JRAS C B xxii no 65 p 316 ff H W Codrington HC p 89 In the inscription on the Alampundi plate (see V Venkayya El III p 224 ff) King Virūpak,a of the Vijayanagara Dynasty, boasts that he had vanquished the kings of the Tuṇḍira Coḷa and Paṇḍya as well as the Simhala. The inscr is dated in the Śaka year 1305 for 1307 = 1383/4

[2] The Mhvs passes over here a very remarkable episode in the history of Ceylon the knowledge of which we owe above all to Chinese sources (Cf J M Senaveratne according to Sylvain Lévi JRAS C B xxiv nr 68 p 98 ff *further* xxviii *nr* 73 p 31 ff) and *to the* Rajav *From* the different sources we gather that the son of the great Alagakkonara, Vīra Alakeśvara under the name of Vijayabāhu (VI) seized the royal dignity in battle with his brother Virabahu During his reign in Jayavaḍḍhanakoṭṭa a Chinese expedition of the Emperor Yung lo under the leadership of Tsheng huo came to Ceylon The Chinese came into conflict with the Sinhalese ruler who is called A le-ko na r (Alagakkonara) and took the king away with them as prisoner The Rajav calls the leader of the Chinese Mahā Cin Dosraja, the king taken prisoner by him, Vijayabahu Here then instead of the family name the adopted name is given Now it seems to me that by confusing this Vijayabahu (VI) with V IV the above discussed gap in the Rajav is explained (note to 90 1) The probability of a mistake is supported by the fact that the Rajav speaks of four younger brothers of King V who are said to

Then at a later time, in the year one thousand nine 15
hundred and fifty-three after the final Nirvana of the holy
Enlightened One, came King Parakkamabāhu[1], an abode 16
of wisdom and manly virtue, a scion of the race of the Sun,
in the charming town named Jayavaḍḍhana — to the in-
comparable, sublime fortune of the royal dignity and with
faith in the three (sacred) jewels, he set about the holding of
a festival. For the tooth of the Prince of the wise the Ruler 17
built a three-storeyed, splendid pāsāda which offered a superb
sight. Then he fashioned a golden casket, fair, beautifully 18
set with the nine precious stones, and another casket in the
form of a shell, gleaming in manifold splendour and set with
the most exquisite jewels and which held the first casket; and
yet another golden casket into which he also put the second.
Finally the King who strove after salvation in the present as 19

have been murdered. Now Vijayabāhu IV. had in fact four brothers according to Mhvs. 87. 16-17. According to the Rājāv. the capture took place A. B. 1958 = 1404 A. D. For the whole see CODRINGTON HC. p. 85 f., 89. If one accepts this Vijayabāhu who is omitted in the Mhvs., as the sixth of the name in the list of the kings, then instead of Vijayabāhu VI. (92. 4) one must read Vijayabāhu VII.

[1] The Mhvs. has nothing to say about the events which preceded the reign of Parakkamabāhu VI. Cf. for this H. W. CODRINGTON, HC., p. 85 ff., 89. The date given in the Mhvs. for the beginning of the reign 1953 A. B. = 1409 A. D. is also found in the Saddharmālaṅkāraya. In another passage however in this work the date is given as 1958 A. B. = 1414 A. D. The same in the inscr. of Pepiliyana (see below, note to v. 24). It may be assumed as probable that Parakkamabāhu VI. came to the throne in 1412, remained three years in Rayigam (District Kalutara, Census of Ceylon 1921, II, p. 44) and removed in 1415 to Jayavaḍḍhana where the coronation took place. The Mhvs. has hardly anything of historical value either to tell us about the reign of Parakkamabāhu VI., except perhaps in v. 24, that his mother's name was Sunettā. It is a great pity that the compiler of the third part of the Cūlavs. restricts himself almost entirely to stereotyped descriptions of festivals for the Tooth Relic. Our knowledge of modern events is gained from quite other sources. In the first place there is the Rājāvalī, also in the version given by Valentyn (Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indien, vol. V); further DO COUTO and DE BARROS (see D. FERGUSON, The History of Ceylon, from the Earliest Times to 1600 A. D. as related by de Barros and do Couto,

in future existences[1], made a (fourth) large, incomparably magnificent casket which he covered with gold of the finest lustre, and in these four superb caskets he placed the tooth.
20 Then calling to mind all the festivals in Laṅkā celebrated by kings who were filled with pure reverence for the sacred Order of the Enlightened One, he thought: "I too will in like manner venerate him unweariedly with all the produce of my king-
21 dom[2]." With such reverential thoughts he celebrated in his faith sacrificial festivals in all manner of ways for the relics and the like. To the community he dispensed regular repasts,
22 together with the eight articles of equipment, month by month, as well as every year sacrificial offerings and a gift
23 of kaṭhina robes for the bhikkhus in the three provinces and a great almsgiving in pious fashion and garments every year and thereby he, the highly famed, who longed for merit, laid
24 up merit. In memory of his mother the meritorious (King) had erected in the Pappaṭa grove[3] in her name the Sunetra-
25 pariveṇa[4] and a monastery for the community and granted it many villages and fields[5]. Then putting down in that selfsame
26 place an abundant alms destined for the community, to be distributed for three days among the ascetics who had come

JRAS C B. xx, nr 60 (1909), p. 1 ff). For the reign of Parakkamabāhu VI I refer the reader besides Codrington, l. c. p. 90 ff, 99 f, to E W Perera, The Age of Sri Parakrama Bāhu VI, JRAS. C. B. xxii, nr 63 (1911), p 6 ff For inscriptions of this king see E Müller, AIC. no 160. H C P Bell, Report on the Kegalla District, p 81 ff.

[1] This is probably the meaning of *bhavavibhava*. Cf. below v. 36.

[2] In these last paricchedas the language is treated with extraordinary arbitrariness. The construction of the compounds and the position of the words in them is often quite contrary to rule The translation can therefore only give the general meaning of such passages.

[3] The name is preserved in that of the Pepiliyana-vihāra not far from Colombo (Census, 1921, vol II, p 36). An inscription in this monastery is dated in the 39 th year of the reign of Parakkamabāhu VI. The date of his ascent of the throne is given as A. B. 1958 = 1514.

[4] Sunetrā or Sunetradevī, the wife of Vijayabāhu (VI) who is supposed to be the father of Parakkamabāhu VI., was a Kāliṅga princess.

[5] *Gāmakhette* is governed by *pūjetvā* in 25 c. Thus in my edition the comma must be placed after *pūjetvā*, not after *tapassinaṃ*.

from the three provinces, he laid up in pious fashion an abundance
of merit. He had the sacred three Piṭakas together with the 27
commentaries and the ṭīkās copied and caused a summary of
the teaching of the Buddha[1] (to be made). He also granted 28
villages and the like to the scribes, that they might copy day
by day the books of the true doctrine. Whatever had fallen 29
into decay on the Mahiyaṅgaṇa-cetiya and other cetiyas every-
where he had renewed and the plaster coating repaired. In 30
the same way he had all the stucco work and so forth carried
out on the Gaṇḍālādoṇī monastery and on the Laṅkātilaka[2]
and others. While celebrating a great feast and a great 31
sacrificial festival he repeatedly had the ceremony of admission
to the Order performed. Thus the wise Lord of men having 32
taken on himself the burden of government and wrought good
for fifty and two years[3], bestowed on the bhikkhu community, 33
serving it in faith, twenty-six thousand one hundred and forty
times the three garments and other articles of equipment and 34
three thousand four hundred and thirty-two kaṭhina robes.
Piously devoted to the three (sacred) objects he who greatly 35
venerated the Order of the Victor, dispensed immeasurable
wealth and in this wise did all kinds of good.

Dowered with faith, discernment and charitableness, a superb 36
jewel of virtue, he recognizing the worthlessness of acquired
riches, performed in such wise, continually, unweariedly meri-
torious works. When ye have understood that, ye as those
who know and are striving after salvation in this existence
and in future existences[4], should also continually and in the

[1] I take *buddhassa sāsanasaṃgahaṃ akā* to mean this and refer the reader to titles of books like Abhidhammatthasaṃgaha, Paccayasaṃgaha, Saddhammasaṃgaha etc. W. gives a totally different rendering. He takes *saṃgaha* in the sense of "kindliness, protection, favour" and translates: "encouraged the religion of Buddha". It seems to me, moreover, that in vv. 27 and 28 special stress is laid on the literary activity of the King. Of course he only suggested the work.

[2] Both vihāras, Gadaladeniya and Lankatilaka are situated not far from Kandy.

[3] Rājāv. and Rājaratn. have the same.

[4] See above note to v. 19.

right way do a quantity of meritorious works[1] which bestow you many a happiness.

Here ends the ninety-first chapter, called «History of the Four Kings, of Parakkamabāhu and his Successors», in the Mahāvaṃsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

[1] For *katvā gaṇhātha* cf. 90. 104 with the note.

CHAPTER XCII

HISTORY OF THE SEVEN KINGS, OF JAYABĀHU AND HIS SUCCESSORS

After his death, his grandson Jayabāhu[1] became king; 1
then Bhuvanekabāhu, after he had murdered him (Jayabāhu).
After obtaining the royal consecration, he lived seven years. 2
After his death Parakkamabāhu known on account of his
learning by the name of Paṇḍita, was king in that fair town, 3
and hereafter Vīraparakkamabāhu. On his death Vijaya- 4

[1] The kings in vv. 1—5 are numbers 108 (169) to 113 (175) of my list. Parakkamabāhu VIII. had two sons: Vijayabāhu VI. (VII.) and (Dharma)pakkamabāhu IX. Both seem to have been made co-regents by their father in the year 1509. But Parakkamabāhu IX., although he lived at least till 1528, was apparently of no great influence. He is not at all mentioned in our chronicle. — The Rājāv. makes Vīra-Parakkamabāhu, not Jayabāhu, the successor of Parakkamabāhu VI. The same name appears again however later as that of Paṇḍita-Parakkamabāhu's successor. The Rājaratn. inserts a king Vīrabāhu before Jayabāhu to whom a reign of 12 years is ascribed. The list of the kings (= Mhvs. 92. 1-5) in the Sinhalese chronicles is as follows:

Rājāv.	Rājaratn.
Vīra-Parakkamabāhu (1468—1472/3)	Vīrabāhu (12 yrs.)
	Jayabāhu
Bhuvanekabāhu (VI) (7 yrs.) (1472/3—1480/1)	„ Bhuvanekabāhu
Paṇḍita-Parakkamabāhu (VII) 1480/1—1484	„ Paṇḍita-Parakkamabāhu
Vīra-Parakkamabāhu (VIII) (20 yrs.) ? 1484—1518	„ Vikrama-Parakkamabāhu
Dharma-Parakkamabāhu (22 yrs.) 1509—1528	
Vijayabāhu (VI) 1509—1521	
Buvanekabāhu (VII) 1521—1551	„ Bhuvanekabāhu

bāhu was king whose adornment was his virtue, and after
5 his death Bhuvanekabāhu was king And after these kings,
each according to his faith and his power, had achieved the
furtherance of the laity and the Order, they went thither in
accordance with their deeds
6 Now Vīravikkama a mighty man, sprung from the line
of Sirisamghabodhi[1], became king in the year two thousand
and eighty-four after the final Nirvana of the Enlightened One[2]
7 Dwelling in the town of Senkhaṇḍasela-Sirivaḍḍhana[3], beautifi-
8 ed by the course of the Mahāvālukagangā, he gladdened his
subjects by the four heart-winning qualities and undertook in
9 his faith meritorious works The fair relic of the Prince of
the wise he brought to a piece of land charmingly situated
10 not far from his royal palace Then he built a cetiya and

The years of the reigns are given according to Codrington (HC p 93 ff) Inscriptions Bhuvanekabahu VI inscr of Dedigama Bell, Report of Kégalla Dist p 83 ff, Vijayabāhu VI, ibid p 85 ff (on the Kelani inscr and Dharma Parakkamabāhu ibid p 86), Bhuvanekabahu VII, JRAS C B XXII, no 65, p 267 ff See further below, note to 95 5 The history and chronology of Ceylon at the end of the Middle Ages suffer particularly from the fact that the island was not under one dominion but was split up into several kingdoms Thus kings who were contemporaries are represented as succeeding one another The kings in the above list reigned in Koṭṭe (Dharma Parakkamabāhu perhaps in Kelani) Then in addition to these there are the dynasties of Sitāvaka and Kandy Vīravikkama (v 6) is according to Wickremasinghe (EZ III p 44) probably identical with Kumara Baṇḍara, the son of Vijaya Baṇḍara who reigned in Kandy at the time of Vijayabahu VI (VII) and Bhuvanekabāhu VII

[1] Mhvs 36 73 ff

[2] = 1540 A D Rajaratn has 2085 A B = 1541 A D

[3] I e Kandy The account evidently goes back here to the rise of the kingdom of Kandy the high country (*uda rata*) that did its utmost to preserve its independence as against the kings in Koṭṭe and Sitāvaka until it fell under the power of Rajasiha in 1580 It is regrettable that the compiler has no interest in political questions but considers only the relations of the kings to the Order To judge by the number of figures contained in his narrative, it looks as if he had consulted a *puññapotthaka* (cf Mhvs. 32 25 ff) i e a book in which the meritorious works of the king are inscribed

near to it a two-storeyed house for the Uposatha[1] ceremony,
as well as round about the town eighty-six dwellings for the 11
community furnished with a roofing of brick and so forth,
made the bhikkhus take up their abode here and there,
granted them maintenance and heard preached the true doc-
trine of the Victor. After celebrating a magnificent sacrificial 12
festival, he hearkened in faith to fifty-five sermons of the
doctrine the preaching whereof lasted the whole night. On 13
thirty thousand leaves he had (sacred) books written down
and to the Tipiṭaka he made an offering of sixty thousand
(gold pieces). He had one hundred and eighty images made 14
of the Enlightened One and one hundred and thirty caskets
for the placing therein of relics and so laid up a store of
meritorious works. He left his town, wandered on foot[2] for 15
a day a distance of seven gāvutas[3] and venerated Mahiyaṅgaṇa 16
by celebrating with divers fragrant flowers, with lamps,
frankincense and the like, a great festival. The Ruler of men 17
betook himself also in one day to the Sumanakūṭa[4] and sacrificed
there by pouring one hundred jars of oil into a lamp fifteen
cubits in girth and five cubits high[5]. [Since his desire was fixed 18
on the highest path[6], he had the impassable road[7] put in

[1] P. *dvibhūmakaṃ uposathamālakaṃ* is curious. *Mālaka* is otherwise only an enclosed open space, a courtyard, serving for the holding of certain ceremonies. *Dvibhūmaka* as attribute of *mālaka* is unsuitable. In other instances moreover, we have only *uposathagga, uposathāgāra, uposathaghara*, showing that a house is meant. If this were not the case in our verse we might have here a structure of the type of a "double platform", E. R. Ayrton, Memoirs, ASC. I. p. 18 ff.; A. M. Hocart, ibid., p. 57 ff.; the same in Codrington, HC. p. 186.

[2] Lit. with the power of his own feet.

[3] I. e. about 14 miles. Mahiyaṅgaṇa, now Alut-nuvara, is 24 miles distant from Kandy as the crow flies. The King's pilgrimage is of course to the Mahiyaṅgaṇa-thūpa.

[4] Adam's Peak cannot be reached in one day from Kandy.

[5] The meaning of the passage is clear, but the language incorrect. The circumference of the bowl into which the oil was poured, would be about 22 ft. the height about 7 ft.

[6] I. e. on the road leading to the highest perfection, to salvation, the path of good works.

[7] Of course the road up to Adam's Peak.

order and provided, for the convenience of the (pilgrims) going
19 to and fro, with seven hundred and eighty stone steps After
the Ruler had in this and other ways performed many meritorious works, he thought to hold the ceremony of admission
20 to the Order] The wise (Prince) had many dwellings put
up on the bank of the river Thither he brought the bhikkhus
21 dwelling in the three provinces and instituted a great festival
Then after specially inviting from among those bhikkhus a
body of thirty-five bhikkhus with the Grand thera Dhammakitti at the head, he made them celebrate a great festival
22 and grant admission to the Order to three hundred and fifty-five able sons of good family whom he had himself chosen
23 out The King heard that in the town of Pāṭaliputta[1] (in
days of yore), the Ruler of men Mahāsena had fed daily a
24 community of one thousand bhikkhus, but unsatisfied even
with this magnificent effort, he had thought of giving alms
25 by the cultivation of a piece of land[2] He had surrendered
the bliss of the royal dignity, betaken himself to the northern
town of Madhurā[3], there laboured and with the grain produced,
26 had in faith made an offering of alms. When[4] he heard this
the wise (Prince) who had joy in a pure gift of alms, cultivated a rice field with his own bodily powers and instituted
with the grain produced, in blameless fashion, an offering of
27 alms With faith in the three (sacred) objects he presented

[1] Capital of the Maurya dynasty now Patna in the province of Bihār on the Ganges

[2] P *ratthusuddhim karitvana* lit after he had carried out the cleansing of a piece of ground Field cultivation is considered the purest and noblest work An offering of that which has been acquired by such work an offering of field products is therefore characterized as *suddhadana* (v 26)

[3] The town Madhura or Mathurā on the Yamunā (Jumna) to distinguish it from the South Indian Madhura (61 33 etc.) is called the Northern Madhura

[4] Vv 23—26 are one sentence *dinnadānam* in v 26 is a object directly governed by *sutvāna* The preceding verses with *Mahāseno* as subject are however so constructed as if it were *dānam adāsiti sutvāna* The author fails in the construction

an offering of two thousand one hundred and eighty-two garments. Spending five hundred and eighty-seven thousand 28
pieces of money, the King had meritorious works performed therewith. Sixty and two elephants and horses and four 29
hundred and fifty head of cattle and buffaloes did the Ruler of men offer in sacrifice. Striving thus and in many other 30
ways after good, he performed many meritorious works and made himself a pathway to heaven.

Thus he performed in faith, steadfast, rejoicing in the 31
welfare of others, after discerning the worthlessness of acquired corporeal existence and other (possessions), in pious manner many meritorious works which bring many a happiness. If ye then have discerned this, as people who have great fear of the terrible evil of the cycle of rebirths, then must ye, remembering what is of true worth, relinquish all desire for corporeal existence and the like (possessions) and strive unweariedly after meritorious works.

Here ends the ninety-second chapter, called «History of the Seven Kings, of Jayabāhu and his Successors», in the Mahāvaṃsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

was possible, he received like ambrosia, smeared his body with
10 ashes and adopted the religion of Siva. He annihilated the
Order of the Victor, slew the community of the bhikkhus,
11 burned the sacred books, destroyed the monasteries and thus
barred his way to heaven. Become a (dead) tree-trunk in the
12 cycle of rebirths, he adopted a false faith. He placed miscreant
ascetics of false faith on the Sumanakūṭa to take for them-
13 selves all the profit accruing therefrom. In this way the
impious fool as he did not know what he should accept and
accepted what he should not have accepted, brought great evil
upon himself.

14 At that time through fear of the King, bhikkhus left the
Order; those among them who were swayed by fear of the
cycle of rebirths, went hither and tither.

15 Harming the welfare of the whole laity and of the stainless
Order of the Buddha, he carried on the government only in
16 virtue of merit formerly acquired. Dowered with sovereign
might, the criminal brought the whole island of Laṅkā into
his power and carried on the government[1].

17 Thus this monarch, equipped with royal might, manifested his sovereign power; but after heaping up every kind of crime, he fell under the dominion of Māra. When one thus perceives the misfortune that meets one who through sinful and false belief has become the victim of delusion, one should in fear, free from all inclination to carelessness, bring about much blessing.

Here ends the ninety-third chapter, called «History of the Two Kings, of Māyādhanu and of his Successor», in the Mahāvaṃsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

the Portuguese. To justify their treacherous conduct, these clerics may also have invented the murder of Rājasīha. Cf. Pieris 2, p. 94. See also W. F. Gunawardhana, Raja Siṇha I., Parricide and Centenarian, JRAS. C. B. xviii, Nr. 56 (1905), p. 382 ff.

[1] The year of his death is given by the Rājāv. as 1514 of the Śaka era = 1592/3 A. D. How great was the admiration of the people for this "last great king of the Sinhalese race" is shown by the fact that even to-day he receives divine honours under the name of Ganegoda Deviyo. Pieris 2., p. 114.

CHAPTER XCIV

HISTORY OF KING VIMALADHAMMASURIYA

In the days of this King a scion of the Sun Dynasty in 1
Gaṅgāsiripura had betaken himself to the harbour of Kolamba[1].
As he did not receive permission to remain there, he went to 2
the province of Gova. After he had dwelt here a long time,
he slew a mighty and famous chieftain by name Gajabāhu[2]. 3
After the victory he received distinctions of many kinds, and
because in his prudence he understood the favorable moment, 4
returned to Laṅkā. The mighty one brought the troops of
the five districts of the highland country over to his side
and after the death of (Rājasīha) the slayer of his father,[3] 5
when the year two thousand, one hundred and thirty-five
from the nirvana of the Master[4] had arrived, he (the prince), 6
full of faith, mighty by reason of his merit, became king
under the name of Vimaladhammasuriya, highly famed, in
the town of Sirivaḍḍhana.

[1] Konappu, later Vimaladhammasuriya was a son of Vīrasundara who belonged to the royal house. Vīrasundara was partisan of Rājasīha, but was slain by him for having conspired against him. His son fled to Colombo (*Kolambatittha*) to the puppet king Dhammapāla. Later he was banished to Goa (*Govaraṭṭha*) where he succeeded in gaining the confidence of the Portuguese. Pieris 2, p. 92 f., 112; Codrington, HC., p. 105.

[2] It was the case of a duel with a pugnacious officer. The episode is related also in the Rājāv. (p. 92 of B. Guṇasekara's translation). Konappu's success may have drawn the attention of the Portuguese to him.

[3] Rājasīha is called *pitughāta* here not on account of the murder of his father Māyādhanu, but on account of that of Vīrasundara.

[4] A. B. 2135 = 1591 A. D. The date is right.

was possible, he received like ambrosia, smeared his body with
10 ashes and adopted the religion of Siva He annihilated the
Order of the Victor, slew the community of the bhikkhus,
11 burned the sacred books, destroyed the monasteries and thus
barred his way to heaven Become a (dead) tree-trunk in the
12 cycle of rebirths, he adopted a false faith He placed miscreant
ascetics of false faith on the Sumanakūṭa to take for them-
13 selves all the profit accruing therefrom In this way the
impious fool as he did not know what he should accept and
accepted what he should not have accepted, brought great evil
upon himself

14 At that time through fear of the King, bhikkhus left the
Order, those among them who were swayed by fear of the
cycle of rebirths, went hither and tither

15 Harming the welfare of the whole laity and of the stainless
Order of the Buddha, he carried on the government only in
16 virtue of merit formerly acquired Dowered with sovereign
might, the criminal brought the whole island of Laṅkā into
his power and carried on the government[1]

17 Thus this monarch, equipped with royal might, manifested
his sovereign power, but after heaping up every kind of crime,
he fell under the dominion of Māra When one thus perceives
the misfortune that meets one who through sinful and false
belief has become the victim of delusion, one should in fear,
free from all inclination to carelessness, bring about much
blessing

Here ends the ninety-third chapter, called «History of the Two Kings, of Māyādhanu and of his Successor», in the *Mahāvaṃsa*, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious

the Portuguese To justify their treacherous conduct these clerics may also have invented the murder of Rajasiha. Cf Pieris 2, p 94 See also W F Gunawardhana, Raja Siṃha I, Parricide and Centenarian, JRAS. C B xviii, Nr. 56 (1905), p 382 ff

[1] The year of his death is given by the Rājāv as 1514 of the Śaka era = 1592/3 A D How great was the admiration of the people for this 'last great king of the Sinhalese race' is shown by the fact that even to day he receives divine honours under the name of Ganegoda Deviyo Pieris 2, p 114

CHAPTER XCIV

HISTORY OF KING VIMALADHAMMASURIYA

In the days of this King a scion of the Sun Dynasty in 1
Gaṅgāsiripura had betaken himself to the harbour of Kolamba[1].
As he did not receive permission to remain there, he went to 2
the province of Gova. After he had dwelt here a long time,
he slew a mighty and famous chieftain by name Gajabāhu[2]. 3
After the victory he received distinctions of many kinds, and
because in his prudence he understood the favorable moment, 4
returned to Laṅkā. The mighty one brought the troops of
the five districts of the highland country over to his side
and after the death of (Rājasīha) the slayer of his father,[3] 5
when the year two thousand, one hundred and thirty-five
from the nirvana of the Master[4] had arrived, he (the prince), 6
full of faith, mighty by reason of his merit, became king
under the name of Vimaladhammasuriya, highly famed, in
the town of Sirivaḍḍhana.

[1] Konappu, later Vimaladhammasuriya was a son of Vīrasundara who belonged to the royal house. Vīrasundara was partisan of Rājasīha, but was slain by him for having conspired against him. His son fled to Colombo (*Kolambatittha*) to the puppet king Dhammapāla. Later he was banished to Goa (*Govaraṭṭha*) where he succeeded in gaining the confidence of the Portuguese. Pieris 2, p. 92 f., 112; Codrington, HC., p. 105.

[2] It was the case of a duel with a pugnacious officer. The episode is related also in the Rājāv. (p. 92 of B. Guṇasekara's translation). Konappu's success may have drawn the attention of the Portuguese to him.

[3] Rājasīha is called *pitughāta* here not on account of his father Māyādhanu, but on account of that of Vī.

[4] A. B. 2135 = 1591 A. D. The date is right.

7 He surrounded the whole of the vast city with a massive
8 wall on the heights of which he had placed at intervals eighteen
tower structures. Then to ward off the foe, he posted sentries,
9 freed the whole kingdom of Lankā from all oppression and
after he had raised a princess of equal birth to the rank of
10 first mahesi and had received his consecration as King, this
famous (prince) who in his faith desired meritorious works,
11 set about furthering the laity and the Order. The Ruler of
men reflected where the tooth of the Enlightened One could
be, and when he heard it was in the Labujagama-vihāra[1], he
12 rejoiced greatly. He had the Tooth Relic which had been
brought to Labujagāma in the province of Saparagamu[2] fetched
13 (thence) and in order to venerate it day by day in his own
fair town and to dedicate a ritual to it, the wise (prince) had
14 a two-storeyed, superb relic temple erected on an exquisitely
beautiful piece of ground in the neighbourhood of the royal
palace. Here he placed the tooth and in lasting devotion
brought offerings to it.

15 As there were no bhikkhus in the island of Laṅkā on whom
the ceremony of admission to the Order had been performed[3], the
King sent officials to the country of Rakkhaṅga, invited
16 Nandicakka and other bhikkhus, had them brought to the is-
land of Lankā, made them take up their abode in the noble
city of Sirivaḍḍhana and cared for them in reverent manner.
17 Then in the Mahavālukagaṅgā, at the landing-place called
Gaṇṭhamba, within a boundary drawn in the water[4], he had

[1] I. e. Delgamuva not far from Kuruvita, north of Ratnapura. The relic was preserved before that in Kotte. Cf. 91. 17 ff. Why it was taken from there to the monastery in Delgamuva is not known. Probably the idea was *to save it from* the Portuguese.

[2] Now Sabaragamuva. The province which stretches *in front of* the south western slopes of the central mountains bounded on the West by the West province and on the South by the South province.

[3] The cause of this decay of the Buddhist Church was in all probability due to the hostile attitude of Rajasiha towards it. Rakkhanga is the name of a district in Lower Burma now Arakan. *Cf. for this* Pieris 2, p. 141.

[4] P. *udakukkhepasīmāyam*. For this term see note to 89. 70.

CHAPTER XCV

HISTORY OF KING SENĀRATANA

After Senāratana by name had received consecration as 1
king, dowered with meritorious works, such as generosity and
the rest and at all times full of reverence, he inclined his 2
subjects to him by the four heart-winning qualities. He
celebrated a festival for the Tooth Relic and a great alms-
giving. The mahesī of the (late) king who had been his elder 3
brother[1] he made his own first mahesī and dwelt in that same
town (of Sirivaḍḍhana).

At that time merchants in the seaport of Kolamba who 4
had sojourned there a long time, had become puffed up with
pride[2]. They were, all of them, the so-called Paraṅgi[3], he- 5
retical evil-doers, cruel and brutal. They spread themselves
over several fair provinces, laid waste fields and gardens, 6
burned down houses and villages, destroyed the noble families
and in this wise brought ruin on Sīhala. They broke into 7
the towns, into the relic shrines and monasteries, destroyed
the image houses, Bodhi trees, Buddha statues and so on, did 8
great harm to the laity and the Order, built at various places

[1] The wife of Vimaladhammasuriya I. (see note to 94. 22) Dona Catherina, who was considered the rightful heiress to the kingdom of Kandy. Vimala had married her to give his reign a semblance of legitimacy. Pieris, 2, p. 125.

[2] P. *ussannaka*. W. "they waxed very strong", which is of course also possible.

[3] I. e. Franks, designation of the Portuguese who are mentioned here for the first time at a period when their power was declining. What is said in the sequel about the Portuguese agrees with what we know about Azavedo's procedure.

power[1]. And yet such a discerning man whose highest good was religion[2], fell under the power of Māra: when one has once realised the permanent condition of misery and of all other (suffering), one must find his joy in unwearied striving

Here ends the ninety-fourth chapter, called «History of King Vimaladhammasuriya», in the Mahāvaṃsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

[1] The first two lines of the strophe resemble in wording the final strophe of 93.

[2] The sing *caturo saddhadhano tādiso* must be referred to *mahipo*, it is, as so often, placed within the sentence, instead of behind *tādiso*.

CHAPTER XCV

HISTORY OF KING SENĀRATANA

After Senāratana by name had received consecration as 1
king, dowered with meritorious works, such as generosity and
the rest and at all times full of reverence, he inclined his 2
subjects to him by the four heart-winning qualities. He
celebrated a festival for the Tooth Relic and a great alms-
giving. The mahesī of the (late) king who had been his elder 3
brother[1] he made his own first mahesī and dwelt in that same
town (of Sirivaḍḍhana).

At that time merchants in the seaport of Kolamba who 4
had sojourned there a long time, had become puffed up with
pride[2]. They were, all of them, the so-called Paraṅgi[3], he- 5
retical evil-doers, cruel and brutal. They spread themselves
over several fair provinces, laid waste fields and gardens, 6
burned down houses and villages, destroyed the noble families
and in this wise brought ruin on Sīhala. They broke into 7
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[1] The wife of Vimaladhammasuriya I. (see note to 94. 22) Dona Catherina, who was considered the rightful heiress to the kingdom of Kandy. Vimala had married her to give his reign a semblance of legitimacy. Pieris, 2, p. 125.

[2] P. *ussannaka*. W. "they waxed very strong", which is of course also possible.

[3] I. e. Franks, designation of the Portuguese who are mentioned here for the first time at a period when their power was declining. What is said in the sequel about the Portuguese agrees with what we know about Azavedo's procedure.

power[1]. And yet such a discerning man whose highest good was religion[2], fell under the power of Māra: when one has once realised the permanent condition of misery and of all other (suffering), one must find his joy in unwearied striving.

Here ends the ninety-fourth chapter, called «History of King Vimaladhammasuriya», in the Mahāvamsa, compiled for the serene j[illegible]motion of the pious.

[1] The fir[illegible] of the st[illegible]e resemble in wording the final strophe of [illegible]

[2] The [illegible]ādhādham[illegible]o must be referred to *mahipo*, that is, as [illegible] within [illegible]tence, instead of behind *tādiso*.

slighted, difficult to attack, hard to vanquish, of a lion-like
courage, took possession of thė kingdom as it had at the 6
beginning belonged to his father; as if he had been created
by gods, pious in the faith, for the furthering of laity and
Order, he was mighty, dowered with the bravery of war-
skilled heroes.

Once upon a time indulging in youthful sports, he went 7
a-riding with a companion who had mounted an other horse,
himself on horseback. At a given sign, the horse ran along 8
the street, but sank in a marshy place. Determined and
courageous, the powerful (prince) sprang aloft, swung himself 9
on to the horse of his next companion throwing off its rider
and rode on his saddle further. At the dangerous ford of the 10
Gaṅgā, which is called Suvaṇṇatthambha[1], he sprang from the
rock on this side and reached the rock on the opposite bank.

After manifesting in this and in many other ways, his 11
strength, the greatly renowned (prince) cherished the wish to
care for the furtherance of laity and Order. He prepared every 12
kind of implement of war and the rest, took in order to open
the fight, the battle-equipped Sīhalas and set forth under a 13
favorable constellation, at a happy moment from the town of
Sirivaḍḍhana with elephants, steeds and princely retinue, with 14
great warriors and so on, with great dignitaries and so on,
·ith foot soldiers who bore bows, swords, spears and other
ons, in front the music with drums, kettledrums and 15
instruments. In order to acquire merit by the giving
s and the like, the King took also the sons of Buddha[2]
m, marched hither and thither, made the sound of the 16
s resound like the terrible clash of thunder and
gan the fight. At first he fought a great battle 17
oe in the five highland provinces[3], *slew many of*

anten-tota, ford over the Mahaveliganga.

khus.

aratthagehe. Here we have another example of the
the Sinhalese language. *-gehe* is equivalent to the Sinh.
tive suffix, and is used as postposition with local meaning.
innings of such forms in an inscription of the 10th cen-
SINGHE, EZ. I. 182.

CHAPTER XCVI

HISTORY OF KING RĀJASĪHA

1 Now while these Rulers of men, sojourning in different places, enjoyed for a short time the pleasures of the royal
2 dignity in harmony, they carried on war against the Paraṅgis and gained here and there victories[1]. But then they quarrelled
3 among themselves, the three brothers, the Lords of men. One of them, the renowned **Rājasīha** by name, dispossessed the
4 older brothers and made them his vassals. After one (Kumārasīha) had been put to death by poison, the other (Vijayapāla who dwelt) in Mātula, mounted a chariot, and started off with one man whom he took with him and betook himself after
5 crossing the frontier of the province, abroad[2]. But the other, Rājasīha[3], a man whose commands were not lightly to be

[1] In the year 1630 A D the princes won a brilliant victory at Randenivela in lower Uva over the Portuguese who had occupied Badulla and had plundered and set fire to the town The Portuguese general, Constantino de Sa y Noronha fell himself in the battle Four years later (1634) Kumārasīha was removed by poison, and to this time belong the first disagreements between Vijayapāla and Rājasīha There must however, have been a reconciliation, for Vijayapāla took part in the battle of Gannoruva in 1938 and the victory of the Sinhalese was largely owing to him The Portuguese under the leadership of their captain general Diogo de Mello had occupied and destroyed Kandy, but they evacuated the town and on their retreat were surrounded and annihilated See below note on v 22 The successes in war of the Sinhalese against the Portuguese are glorified in the poems Kostantinu haṭanē and Mahahaṭanē See A. de Silva, JRAS C. B xxiv, No 68 (1915-16), p 56

[2] For Vijayapāla's tragic fate according to Portuguese documents, see P. E Pieris, The Prince Vijayapāla of Ceylon, 1634—1654, Colombo 1928

[3] Or perhaps "the second (*aparo*) Rājasīha".

slighted, difficult to attack, hard to vanquish, of a lion-like
courage, took possession of the kingdom as it had at the 6
beginning belonged to his father; as if he had been created
by gods, pious in the faith, for the furthering of laity and
Order, he was mighty, dowered with the bravery of war-
skilled heroes.
Once upon a time indulging in youthful sports, he went 7
a-riding with a companion who had mounted an other horse,
himself on horseback. At a given sign, the horse ran along 8
the street, but sank in a marshy place. Determined and
courageous, the powerful (prince) sprang aloft, swung himself 9
on to the horse of his next companion throwing off its rider
and rode on his saddle further. At the dangerous ford of the 10
Gaṅgā, which is called Suvaṇṇatthambha[1], he sprang from the
rock on this side and reached the rock on the opposite bank.
After manifesting in this and in many other ways, his 11
strength, the greatly renowned (prince) cherished the wish to
care for the furtherance of laity and Order. He prepared every 12
kind of implement of war and the rest, took in order to open
the fight, the battle-equipped Sīhalas and set forth under a 13
favorable constellation, at a happy moment from the town of
Sirivaḍḍhana with elephants, steeds and princely retinue, with 14
great warriors and so on, with great dignitaries and so on,
with foot soldiers who bore bows, swords, spears and other
weapons, in front the music with drums, kettledrums and 15
other instruments. In order to acquire merit by the giving
of alms and the like, the King took also the sons of Buddha[2]
with him, marched hither and thither, made the sound of the 16
war drums resound like the terrible clash of thunder and
fearless began the fight. At first he fought a great battle 17
with the foe in the five highland provinces[3], slew many of

[1] Now Ranten-tota, ford over the Mahaveliganga.

[2] I. e. bhikkhus.

[3] P. *pañcuddharaṭṭhagehe.* Here we have another example of the influence of the Sinhalese language. *-gehe* is equivalent to the Sinh. *-gē*, the genitive suffix, and is used as postposition with local meaning. As to the beginnings of such forms in an inscription of the 10th century see Wickremasinghe, EZ. I. 182.

18 the miscreants and drove the powerful wretched enemies from
every place, breaking down their strongholds, the Ruler of
19 men remained victorious The foes fled, looking on every side
(for safety), tortured with fear, flung themselves from the
20 mountain precipices, sprang into the mountain gorges and were
scattered as cotton in the wind, when he rushed into the
battle-field like a terrible lion that has broken into a herd
21 of elephants[1] After fighting again and again in different
places with the foe and killing and putting to flight numbers
22 of people on the side of the enemy, he conquered several
provinces, freed them from oppression, destroyed the strong-
holds and so manifested his great power[2]
23 There were however, many of the enemy who tortured by
fear, had hidden themselves and escaped They stayed for a
24 time in the fortresses at the various places near to the sea,
then these heretical villains began again and again to plunder
25 the different provinces When Rājasiha whose commands were
not lightly to be slighted, heard thereof, he betook himself
26 to Dighavāpi[3] which lies to the East While he, experienced
in all the statecraft taught by Manu, sojourned there, he
27 received news of the Olandas[4] He thought that good, sent

[1] The language of the passage is in the form in which the MSS have it and as I have adopted it in my edition, absolutely incorrect. It is however very doubtful whether we are justified in altering it, as the fault may lie with the author The Col Ed alters *nigarāja va nibbhayo* into *rāje va nibbhaye* I should nevertheless prefer to keep these words and to read *sampatto* in v 20a instead of *sampatte*, which may be influenced by *yuthamhi*

[2] There can be no doubt that the preceding verses refer to the victories of the Sinhalese arms mentioned in the note to v 2. But the events are described in quite general terms

[3] For the district Dīghavāpi see 74 89 and note

[4] Vimaladhammasuriya I had already been in touch with the Dutch (see note to 94 22) Under Rājasiha II Dutch envoys already appeared in 1937, and the King on his part sent three of his own people to Admiral Westerwold, who lay with his vessels at Goa, to blockade it. Dutch vessels appeared at Batticaloa where a Portuguese garrison lay, and the united forces of the Sinhalese and the Dutch forced the Portuguese to surrender the fort (18th May, 1939) A treaty was made with

two dignitaries to their fair land, had a number of people
fetched from there in many ships and when these arrived in 28
the rich, prosperous, thickly populated coast lands near Dīgha-
vāpi, he showed them favour. As he wished to display to them 29
the military forces of his Laṅkā, he sent them the command
to look quietly on. Then he began the fight with the foe 30
stationed near, slew a great mass of the foe and captured the
stronghold. The Ruler of men made over the place to the 31
inhabitants of Olanda and showed them many other favours
and made everyone contented.

From this time onward the Ruler of Laṅkā began at the 32
head of both armies[1], to carry on war by land and water on
every side. He destroyed the fortresses situated at different 33
places and protected by massive stone walls, slew the enemy,
erected in the whole of Laṅkā strongholds garrisoned by strong 34
forces and after absolutely annihilating the foe who had ra-
vaged so long (in Laṅkā) and freeing (the country) from their 35
oppression, he in order to ward off the enemy, charged the
inhabitants of Olanda with the protection of Laṅkā in the
places situated on the sea. After arranging that these were 36
to appear before him every year with presents of divers kinds,
the Ruler of men returned, like Vajirapāṇi[2] when he had 37
conquered in the battle against the Asuras, with his retinue
to his town (of Sirivaḍḍhana)[3].

Westerwold which was ratified in Batavia whither Rājasīha sent two envoys. It enabled the Dutch to gain a firm footing on the island. These are the events to which vv. 25 ff. refer. The narrative describes in one-sided fashion — not surprising in chroniclers — the achievements of the Sinhalese. That they alone conquered Batticaloa is not in accordance with the facts. The chief merit belongs to the Dutch guns. Pieris 2, p. 227 ff.; Codrington, HC., p. 117 ff.

[1] That is the Sinhalese and the Dutch.

[2] Name of Indra: "who carries the thunderbolt (*vajira*) in his hand."

[3] Here again in the Mhvs. only the one-sided Sinhalese standpoint is given. In diplomacy the Dutch were without doubt superior to King Rājasīha, while on the other hand, he was a very unreliable ally for them. Rājasīha's reign was not so void of friction after the treaty with the Dutch as one might assume from our chronicle. It was disturbed

38 Now while the Ruler of men, Rājasīha, dwelt here in safety, the wise (prince) sought out in fitting manner those people who were worthy of a position and granted them various positions
39 such as that of senāpati and the like Villages, fields and so on, everything that had belonged to the Buddha and the gods, in accordance with tradition, the Ruler of men gave
40 back as it had been formerly He brought kings' daughters hither from the town of Madhurā, and after holding sway
41 powerfully for fifty and two years[1], the mighty Monarch Rajasīha, who had guarded as his own eye in the best way the Order of the royal Sage of the line of the Sun and the laity, he the best of men went over to the king of death.
42 Thus this exceeding mighty King, the ruler, who understood how to annihilate hostile forces, was yet unable with his strength and his other qualities to gain the mastery over death When the discerning have grasped from the first, at the very beginning this superiority of Māra, they must with great zeal continually do meritorious works, such as almsgiving and the rest

Here ends the ninety-sixth chapter, called «History of King Rājasīha», in the Mahāvaṃsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious

internally by risings, as in 1641 by that plotted by Vijayapala. The struggles between the Portuguese and the Dutch went on, the luck being sometimes on the one side sometimes on the other Finally the Dutch triumphed With the capture of Colombo (A D 1656) the fate of the Portuguese dominion was sealed Immediately after that there was a breach between Rajasīha and the Dutch The conflicts of the years which follow were multiplied for Rājasīha by inward strife. Lasting peace was not achieved, in spite of a peace favorable to the Sinhalese being signed in the year A D 1677, until the death of the king ten years later Pieris 2, p 228 290, Pieris 3 p 1 35, Codrington, HC, p 118 ff, 133 ff

[1] From A D 1635 (death of Senaratana) till A D 1687 Rajav makes the mistake of giving 1614 of the Śaka era = 1692/3 A. D as that of Rajasīha's death

CHAPTER XCVII

HISTORY OF THE TWO KINGS, OF VIMALADHAMMA AND HIS SUCCESSOR

Now his son Vimaladhammasuriya became king whose 1
ornament was his faith and other virtues, who was a friend
of the three jewels. As his first mahesī he took the daughter 2
of the mahesī in the town of Madhurā who had been fetched
thence, gladdened his subjects by the four heart-winning
qualities and protected uninterruptedly in peace and justice 3
the realm of Laṅkā as a lord of men whose ornament was
his virtue.

Having attained his consecration as king, the King in pious 4
faith in the doctrine of the Victor, prepared in divers ways every-
thing needful for a sacrificial festival for the Tooth Relic. In 5
honour of the Tooth of the Prince of the wise he erected a
fair, three-storeyed pāsāda, resplendent with all kinds of
(artistic) work, and for the sum of five and twenty thousand 6
silver pieces he had a reliquary made which he covered with
gold and ornamented with the nine precious stones. In this 7
great reliquary that resembled a cetiya of precious stones, he
laid the Tooth of the Victor.

As the Ruler thought to hold the festival of admission to 8
the Order, he prepared fair garments and other articles of
use, five hundred of each kind, made everything over with 9
gifts and the like, together with a royal letter to prudent
officials. These he sent to the country of Rakkhaṅga and 10
invited[1] the bhikkhu community with the thera Santāna at

[1] The embassy to Rakkhaṅga (= Arakan, see note to 94. 15) took place in the year A. D. 1697. The Dutch supplied the vessels for conveying the monks from Burma to Ceylon, which contributed not a little

11 the head Thus he brought thirty-three bhikkhus to the
beautiful town of Sirivaḍḍhana, made them amid tokens of
12 respect, take up their abode there and provided them with
the four necessaries Then after he had erected in the right
way, as formerly, a building at the landing-place of the
13 Gangā, within a boundary drawn in the water, he brought
the bhikkhu community thither, had the ceremony of ad-
mission performed on thirty-three sons of good family and
14 so helped the Order of the Victor to attain new glory Then
full of faith he had one hundred and twenty sons of good
15 family appointed to the position of sāmaṇeras, provided them
abundantly with the four necessaries, had them instructed in
the true doctrine and thus laid up a store of merit
16 Thinking of the great merit that lies in the use of the
feet[1], he betook himself to the Sumanakūṭa and celebrating
17 with jewels, pearls and the rest, with offerings of gold and
precious stones and with divers stuffs and so forth, a great
festival, he tarried there seven days
18 He sheltered with a great umbrella of silver the foot print
of the Sage which was stamped on the Sumanakūṭa and ce-
lebrated a great festival
19 Day after day he listened to (the sermon of the) doctrine
and since even on days which were not uposatha days, he
20 kept the ordained fasts, he did much good In this and many
other ways, longing for good, he day and night unweariedly
21 did much good The King having thus cared for the welfare
of the laity and the Order, fell under the power of death
after a reign of twenty and two years[2]

to the friendly relations established between them and the court of Kandy The ceremony of the *upasampadā* took place again (*pure riya*) at Gaṇṭhambatittha (Getamba) The description in v 8 ff has a great resemblance also in the wording to that describing analogous circumstances under Vimaladharmasuriya I (94 15 ff) Compare for instance v 12cd with 94 17cd v 15ab with 94 20cd

[1] I e the merit of the pilgrimages See 92 16 ff where the pilgrimages of Viravikkama to Mahiyangaṇa and to Adam's Peak are described

[2] Vimaladhammasuriya II reigned from A D 1687 1707 He was

32 there and so laid up a store of merit At the head of a great retinue he left the great city, went forth to the great (city)
33 Anurādhapura and celebrated a great sacrificial festival He had a robe made the size of the robe of the Deliverer[1] and sacrificed to the Tooth of the Deliverer in divers ways with
34 articles befitting the sacrifice Not far from the capital[2], on the fair bank cliff of the Gangā, the Lord of men laid out
35 in a great cocopalm plantation a suburb by name Kuṇḍasālā and dwelt there[3] And there at that self-same spot he had dwelling huts put up in fitting manner and made sāmaṇeras take up their abode in them He performed day by day many
36 good works like the giving of alms and the rest, had books copied and when he saw that the temple which his royal
37 father had erected in the capital for the Tooth Relic, had fallen into decay, his heart was grieved The Lord of men
38 had the beautiful (temple) rebuilt, two-storeyed, splendid, he provided it with a portal resplendent with all kinds of brilliant ornaments, made it so that with its stucco coating it
39 resembled a mountain of silver, provided it with a graceful roof and had thirty-two jātakas depicted in coloured painting[4] on the two walls of the courtyard the Vidhurajataka[5], the
40 Guttila- and Ummaggajātaka, the Dadhivāhana-, Mahākaṇha-, Sutanu- and Chaddantajātaka, the Dhammaddhaja-, Dhamma-
41 pāla- and Mahājanakajataka, the Padamāṇava-[6], Dhammasoṇḍa-, Mahānāradakassapa-, Mahāpaduma-, Telapatta- and
42 Cullapadumajātaka, the Sattubhatta-, Aṇḍabhūta-, Campeyya-

[1] P *sugata* lit he who has gone well who has gone ahead on the path to deliverance R O Franke translated the word by Pfadvollender the path finisher or path accomplisher

[2] P *nndapura* Sirivaḍḍhana (Kandy) is meant. The Ganga is, as often, the Mahaveliganga

[3] Kundasale about four miles E S E of Kandy situated on the Mahaveliganga. The popular name for the king was Kundasala after this place which was his favorite residence

[4] I am anticipating the words *ime dvatti sajātake vicittacittakammena kārāpetvāna* in v 44 d 45 a.

[5] The Vidhurapaṇḍitajātaka, no 545 of the Fausböll edition

[6] Padakusalamāṇavajataka, no 432 of Fausböll

and Sasajātaka, the Visayha-, Kusa-, Sutasoma-[1], Sivi- and 43
Temajātaka[2]; the Culladhanuddhara-[3] and the Saccaṃkiraka- 44
jātaka, the Dummedhajātaka and the Kāliṅgabodhijātaka;
the Silavajātaka[4] and the Maṇḍavyajātaka[5], as well as the
Vessantarajātaka. While thus having these thirty-two jātakas 45
faultlessly represented in coloured painting, the Lord of men
laid up an immeasurable store of merit.

In the midst of the town he had erected round the great 46
Bodhi tree, the cetiyas and the temple of Nāthasura[6] — enclosing them on all sides — a fine wall of stone, massive, 47
lofty, brilliant in its coating of stucco, like to a necklace of
pearls adorning the necks of the ladies of the town and created
thereby for himself an abundance of renown.

Among the sāmaṇeras who lived at his own time (was one) 48
who was dowered with the virtue of a moral life, who ever
rejoiced in unweariedness, in the many works of elucidation 49
and in the words of the Enlightened One, a poet, one learned
in the scriptures, ready of speech, teacher of a host of disciples,
renowned, who devoted his life to his own and to others' weal, 50
who shone like the moon in the heaven of the Order in Laṅkā.
For this sāmaṇera, Saraṇaṃkara by name, who was an abode 51
of faith and of knowledge, rejoicing in unweariedness, the
Ruler — distinguishing him again and again by honours 52
spiritual and secular — had a reliquary made one and a
half cubits high for preserving the relic of the King of the 53
wise, the Enlightened One, the highest Protector of the world.
He covered it with gold, set it with 700 jewels and made
over the shimmering casket to the sāmaṇera together with 54

[1] There are two jātakas of this name, the Mahā- and Cullasutasomajātaka, no. 537 and 525 of Fausböll.

[2] Temiya- or Mūgapakkhajātaka, no. 538 of Fausböll.

[3] Culladhanuggahajātaka, no. 374 of Fausböll.

[4] Sīlavanāgajātaka, no. 72 of Fausböll.

[5] Apparently the Kaṇhadīpāyanajātaka in which the ascetic Maṇḍavya plays the chief part. No. 444 of Fausböll.

[6] Like Nāthadeva (100. 248) the name of Viṣṇu as the protecting deity (*nātha*) of the island.

the relic as well as many books about the true doctrine and
55 so distinguished him The Lord of men granted him clothing
and other necessaries as well as numerous people for service
and honoured him thus with secular *gifts*
56 To procure a long existence for the true doctrine, the Lord
of men invited (that same) Saraṇaṃkara in befitting manner
57 and had *composed* by *this* discerning sāmaṇera who strove
after *pure* enlightenment, that work *on* the true doctrine
entitled the Sāratthasaṃgaha, furnished with eleven thousand
sections[1], further a commentary in the tongue of Laṅkā on
58 the Mahābodhivaṃsa[2], as well as a commentary on the work
Bhesajjamañjūsā[3] which was composed *at the time* when the
former King Parakkamabāhu held sway in the town of
59 Jambuddoṇi[4] by that discerning thera, assiduous in well-doing
who was head of the (bhikkhus) dwelling in the Pañcapari-
60 veṇa[5], with the wish that thus those who have devoted them-
61 selves to the spiritual life should be spared illness After the
wise (prince) had performed these and many other meritorious
works and had carried on the government for thirty and three
years, he fell into the power of death[6]

[1] P *gantha.* The meaning section is uncertain *In no case are* we justified in referring to WILSON, as does W according to whom the skr *grantha* denotes a distinct number of syllables (32), because WILSON is speaking of a metre which however W himself admits

[2] For this see GEIGER Pali p 25 no 29 2, MALALASEKERA, Pali Literature of Ceylon p 156 ff Whether by Saranaṃkara's commentary (*atthavaṇṇanā*) the Flu Bodhivaṃsa is meant seems doubtful

[3] Medicine chest Probably a collection of recipes of the character of the Indian Bhaiṣajyaratnavali (JOLLY, Medicin p 2)

[4] Parakkamabahu II is meant.

[5] A monastery called Pancapariveṇamūla is mentioned 67 61 One *could also translate* of the bhikkhus living in the five pariveṇas

[6] The Chronicle concerns itself solely with the king's relation to the Church and is fulsome in its praise of his merits. It does not mention a single word about the conspiracy which *nearly cost* him his *life* As little does it mention the very unsatisfactory conditions existing *for the* most part in the territories occupied by the Dutch nor the *conflicts*, arising out of questions of commercial policy between the people of

After the King had attained the highest bliss on the is- 62
land of Laṅkā, he left behind his kinsfolk, his friends and his life, and went to that state where all that is left behind. When ye have grasped that, ye remembering the truth of the oral admonitions of the highest Sage, should practise meritorious doing that surpasses all else, that brings the bliss of deliverance, that grants the bliss of the world of the gods.

Here ends the ninety-seventh chapter, called «History of the Two Kings, of Vimaladhamma and his Successor», in the Mahāvaṃsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

Kandy and the foreigners. Like his predecessor Narindasīha he kept the peace. At any rate the Dutch understood by occasional gifts to keep him in good humour. Pieris 3, p. 62—65.

CHAPTER XCVIII

HISTORY OF SIRIVIJAYARĀJASĪHA

1 After Narindasiha's death the younger brother[1] of the
Mahesi of this king[2] became king, adorned with the ornament
2 of virtue Known by the name of Sirivijayarājasiha, he
was after the attainment of his consecration as king, piously
3 attached to the Triad of the jewels He was diligent in
hearkening to the sermon of the doctrine, unwearied, discerning,
ever full of zeal intent on intercourse with pious and
4 good people To establish his own dynasty he fetched princesses
from the town of Madhurā and made them his chief
5 mahesis He won over the people in Lankā in the best manner
possible by the four heart-winning qualities and took up his
6 abode in the fair town (Sirivaddhana) The Mahesis of the
King, too, gave up the false faith to which they had been
long attached, and adopted in the best manner possible the
7 true faith which confers immortality They heard the incomparable,
true doctrine of the Buddha, the highest Protector
of the world and thus adored with constant devotion the
8 Buddha and the other (sacred) objects In their faith they

[1] In *kaniṭṭhabhūta* I see the influence of the Sinhalese on the Pali of the chronicler *vu* being added in Sinhalese at the end of attributive adjectives

[2] According to 97 24 (cf 98 4) Narindasiha's Mahesi was a princess from Madhura With the ascent of the throne by her brother a foreign dynasty is thus introduced into Lanka The series of Sinhalese kings ends with Narindasiha. The succession of Vijayarajasiha meanwhile, was not undisputed A strong party at court supported the claims of Unambuva a son of Narindasiha's by a concubine It seems however that he voluntarily renounced the throne Later on he lived safe and sound at the court of Kandy

worshipped the Tooth Relic day by day with sacrifice, with
jasmine and other blossoms and with all kinds of flower
festivals, with sweet betel mixed with camphor and other 9
things, with lamps with fragrant oil, with sweet-smelling
sandal wood and so forth, with divers kinds of fragrant in- 10
cense, with sugar and honey and with other drugs, with gar-
ments, ornaments and so on, with silver and golden bowls 11
which were abundantly filled with all that one can chew, eat,
sip, drink and taste, with curtains, carpets and the like, with 12
many articles of use and with costly robes — and thus and
otherwise laid up a store of merit. They kept constantly 13
the five moral commandments[1] and the uposatha vows even
on days that were not uposathas, diligent in hearing the
(sermon of the) true doctrine. Even as the yak cows (protect 14
their tails)[2], so they preserved the memory of the Buddha
and the other (sacred objects)[3]. They worked for their per-
fection, had sacred books copied. They strove after the bless- 15
ing that lies in generosity. They understood to perfection
the regular offering of food and other (occasional) distribution
of food to wandering or sick (bhikkhus). They were not 16
attached to acquired wealth but dispensed (it in) continual
feeding and the like. They made young people renounce the
world, showed them favour of many kinds. They had good in- 17
struction given in the knowledge of the sacred scriptures and
of pious duties and by dispensing always what was desired
they were like to a wishing-tree. Kind beyond measure and 18
very full of pity they thought of all people in Laṅkā as a
mother of her children, and were merciful and mines of virtue.
They had images and reliquaries fashioned in the best manner 19

[1] P. *pañcasīlaṃ*. Cf. with this Mhvs. trsl. 1. 62.

[2] Cf. with this passage Buddhavaṃsa 2. 124 f. *yathāpi camarī vāḷaṃ kismici paṭivilaggitaṃ | upeti maraṇaṃ tattha na vikopeti vāḷadhiṃ || tatheva catūsu bhūmīsu sīlāni paripūriya | parirakkha sabbadā sīlaṃ camarī viya vāḷadhiṃ ||*— an allusion to the legend that the yaks would rather die than have any harm happen to their greatest ornament, their tail.

[3] There are six different *anussatiyo* — *Buddha-, dhamma-, saṃgha-, sīla-, cāga-* and *devatā-anussati.*

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possible and always fearing every sin and ever rejoicing over
20 every meritorious deed, adorned with the ornament of such
and many other virtues, they were highly regarded in the
21 whole island of Lankā The King had dwelling-places erected
here and there and made the sāmaṇeras take up their abode
22 in them and pious as he was, he showed them full of zeal,
much favour with garments and other necessaries, heard the
23 splendid true doctrine from these sāmaṇeras and revered
(especially) the sāmaṇera Saraṇaṃkara by name who strong
in faith dwelt in the Uposathārāma, who was a mine of virtues
24 He invited him and had a commentary on the four bhāṇavāras[1]
made by him in the language of Lankā and thus protected
the knowledge of the sacred scriptures

25 Since the Lord of men had heard from foolish people outside (of the Buddhist Order) that great evil would befall if
26 he were to place the relic in a new relic temple, he gave
orders that this should be done by other people[2] and betook
himself thence to another town While he sojourned there
27 the dignitaries assembled and together with the caretakers[3]
and other people, they tried with all their might to open the
28 reliquary But although they tried the whole night long they
did not succeed The dignitaries went thither and told the
to the Great king When the King heard that, he
came in haste to the splendid town and after the Ruler had
reverently made offerings with all kinds of fragrant flowers,
30 with lamps, incense and the like and shown his reverence,

[1] For purposes of recitation the whole of the Tipiṭaka is divided into *bhāṇavāras*, sections of equal length There are said to be 2547 of these (Childers, s v) It seems to me however, as if the word in our passage is used instead of *nikāya* The commentary would then have embraced Dīgha-, Majjhima-, Saṃyutta- and Anguttara Nikāya.

[2] The passage is wrongly rendered by W *Aññam purām* is not governed by *kātum* in 26 b, it belongs to *gantvā*, but *kātum* must be supplemented by the object (it) from the preceding

[3] *Vattakārakā* (meaning literally fulfilling the duty or the task) refers I believe, to the guardians who were appointed just at that time to look after the shrines and see that they were kept in proper condition See Pieris 8, p 70

he took hold of the lock and at once opened the reliquary
without difficulty. Then after opening one after the other the 31
caskets inside it, he beheld the Tooth of the Enlightened One.
"It is accomplished, with success" uttering these joyful words, 32
he assembled the inhabitants of the town, prepared a great
feast and celebrated a great sacrificial festival. As he gazed 33
on the wonderful (relic) the Monarch was transported with
joy and enthusiasm. As offerings he presented an elephant
and a horse, jewels, pearls and the like, took the sacred Tooth 34
of the Prince of the wise in the lotus of his hand, showed
it forth and so caused all to rejoice in perfect fashion. The 35
relic temple built in the time of former kings he furnished
with all kinds of stuffs interwoven with gold, lit lamps with 36
divers-smelling oils, had filled jars placed about, and then in
this gaily decorated temple, like to a heavenly temple, he 37
placed on a silver throne the Tooth of the Prince of the wise.
He arranged a great festival, made a sacrifice to the relic and 38
after cleansing the whole town in a worthy manner and
strewing it with sand he placed during this festival of the 39
Tooth Relic, round about the temple, within in the court and
without on the terrace, further in the royal court and in all 40
the streets on either side with lofty poles placed upright, an
unbroken series of festive arches, bound thereon banana stalks 41
and adorned them fair with areca and coconut blossoms and
other flowers. With the brightly hued, gleaming and shimmer- 42
ing streamers tied bunch-wise to the points of the poles, the sky
above the town looked pleasant as if it were filled with flights of 43
cranes. Here and there he placed in due order filled jars and 44
in the maṇḍapas in a circle in front of the temple terrace he
fastened canopies shimmering with silver and golden and other
embroideries, hung thereabout brightly gleaming curtains, 45
spread there in fair fashion carpets resplendent with many a 46
work of art and also strewed around the five kinds of flowers,
lāja and the like[1]. Then after the Ruler had put the whole 47

[1] P. *lājapañcamakaṃ*, lit. "that in which *lāja* is the fifth". See for this PTS. P. D. s. v. *lāja*. This is the name for the blossom of the

city in order so that it looked as if the former kings of Lankā
were celebrating a festival with the thought that in like
48 fashion the King of the gods makes a feast in the city of
the gods[1], he himself with royal ornaments adorned, gathered
49 together in that town the sāmaṇeras who dwelt in Lankā,
further the lay brethren and lay sisters, all the inhabitants
of the town and the people who dwelt outside in the provinces
50 Out of mercy towards them[2] the Ruler of the earth for whom
pity was the highest, flung himself on the ground in most
51 humble posture[3] and so worshipped the Tooth of the Prince
of the wise Then the King took it in the lotus of his hand
52 and his heart filled with the highest joy, he left the relic
temple With silver umbrellas, with a golden casket, with
53 row upon row of fair fly whisks, with manifold offerings of
flowers, consisting of silver, golden and other blooms, with
54 divers jewels and pearls, with robes, ornaments and many other
sacrificial articles, with the fivefold music[4] he celebrated a
great sacrificial festival, like to a stream flowing on uninter-
55 ruptedly Then the King, the Ruler of Laṅka betook himself

dalbergia arborea W s version is quite different (note to the passage) He takes *laja* in the sense of roasted rice and remarks Paddy when roasted bursts and the grain inside the husk expands in the shape of a beautiful white flower These are used on public occasions and festivals as a mark of respect for showing the ground whereon a shrine is taken or on which a high person walks over

[1] The style is extremely stilted Literally the passage should be translated thus showing the town in such a way that one would be obliged to say in such wise did the former princes of Laṅka celebrate a festival, whereby they thought thus doth the king of the gods etc etc. The idea is this the king has adorned the city as magnificently as the kings of yore were wont to do on like occasions, and the splendour they displayed was due to the fact that they imitated divine models

[2] He will not rob the people of the purifying spectacle of the sacred relic

[3] P *pañcapatiṭṭhitango* lit with a body in which five (parts of the body) lie fast. Childers thus explains the term to prostrate oneself before a superior so completely that the forehead elbows waist knees and feet rest on the ground

[4] See note to 85 30

to the maṇḍapa outside (in front of the temple) which was adorned with divers bright ornament and standing here, dis-
played the sacred Tooth. Having thus given the greatest joy 56
to the mighty multitude gathered round, he brought the Tooth
Relic back to its place. Thus by bringing full contentment 57
to all as if by the sight of the Buddha in person, he laid up a store of much good.

Now after the Lord of men had offered abundantly with 58
all kinds of ornament, such as gold, jewels, pearls and the
like, with sacrificial offerings like elephants, horses, slaves 59
male and female, with flowers like jasmine, campaka[1] and
other blossoms, with fragrant sandal wood and the like, he 60
bethought himself of the great blessing inherent in a sacrifice of lamps. Hence the Lord of men issued the command that in their own town and in the cetiyas in the divers provinces
on one and the same day[2], people should make an offering 61
of lamps, and in that selfsame night he gathered together the
people and celebrated a sacrifice of lamps with seven hundred 62
and ninety thousand, six hundred lamps. Thus with burning 63
lamps the Ruler of Laṅkā made the land of Laṅkā like to
the star-strewn firmament. With an offering of three hundred[3] 64
thirty and three thousand, eight hundred flowers he laid up a store of merit.

This King rich in virtue who found joy in causing images 65
of the Buddha to be made, had erected in Ālokalena[4] and other vihāras in the province of Mātula, as well as here and there
in the rock temples of the various (other) provinces, Buddha 66
statues in life-size, in recumbent, standing and sitting posture and new cetiyas which bring happiness to living creatures,
and he had many decayed image houses restored and increased 67
thereby showing favour to the people, the quantity of his merit.

[1] Michelia champaka; Sinh. *sapu-mal.*

[2] The words *ekāhe va* must be taken in the oratio recta.

[3] For *koṭi* which here probably means 100,000, see PTS. P. D. s. v. In has the general meaning of an extremely high number.

[4] Now the Alu-vihāra not far from Matale situated in the cleft of a mighty primeval landslide.

68 In the town of Sirivaḍḍhana the Lord of men did away
with the royal palace and many other buildings that had
69 been *founded* formerly but had meanwhile fallen into decay
In place of these the Lord of men built new houses which
70 excelled by reason of their mason work and the like, made
fine gates[1] and erected a magnificent gate-building furnished
with iron gateways, adorned with ornaments[2] of divers form
and consisting of two storeys

71 While he resided in this town, he full of zeal when listen-
ing to the sermon of the doctrine, had maṇḍapas erected
72 within the royal courtyard He furnished them completely
with coloured arches and the like, put up canopies, spread
73 seats, brought then with great ceremony[3] many *preachers of*
the true doctrine thither, made them be seated and lay hold
74 of their white fans Then he hearkened to the good, heart-
penetrating doctrine as it was preached by them along with
enlightening explanation and the like, and filled with pious
75 joy the Ruler honoured it with gold and silver, with lamps,
incense and the like, with divers coloured stuffs, (in short)
76 with sacrificial articles of every kind, the Monarch himself in
common with the dignitaries and the troops and so on many
occasions laid up a store of abundant good

77 Now when the King heard through the true doctrine that
spiritual offerings[4] are a great thing, he intent on the wel-
78 fare of the people dwelling in the various provinces, had
dwellings and sermon halls erected here and there in places
79 fitted for the assembling of a great multitude of people Then
the Lord of men sent to the various places numerous preachers
of the doctrine and others had the people gathered together
and the true doctrine preached to them and in this way he
offered a spiritual offering

[1] One is tempted here to join *carudvāraṃ yojetvā* with the following *ayodvārasamāyutam* but for its giving a scarcely tolerable tautology

[2] P *latākamma* lit. creeper work

[3] P *mahussavena* not as W translates with much trouble That would be *mahussāhena*

[4] P *dhammadāna* every kind of religious instruction The opposite is *āmisadāna* "secular offering (food clothing etc)

The infamous Paraṅgis, the infidels, the impious ones who 80
at the time of King Rājasīha had still remained behind in
the town and now dwelling here and there, rich in cunning, 81
endeavoured by gifts of money and the like to get their creed
adopted by others, led a life without reverence for the doctrine 82
(of the Buddha). When the King heard thereof he became
vehemently indignant, issued commands to his dignitaries, had 83
their houses and their books destroyed and banished from the
country those who did not give up their faith[1].

On the Sumanakūṭa made sacred by the footprint of the 84
Enlightened One the Ruler celebrated a sacrifice of lamps and
all other festivals. In Anurādhapura, in Mahiyaṅgaṇa and in 85
other places he likewise celebrated a great sacrificial festival.
To east and west (of the town) where water made the road 86
impassable, he had stone bridges put up for the comfort of
those coming and going.

When the Monarch realised that the Order of the Victor 87
was declining because a bhikkhu community was not to be
had in Laṅkā he was greatly moved. As he was minded to 88
invite a bhikkhu community, he considered in every possible
way where the Order of the Sage could possibly still exist.
Then he heard from the Olandas[2] the welcome news that the 89
Order still existed in various countries, in Pegu, Rakkhaṅga,

[1] The King's measures are thus directed against the Roman Catholic Church and against the Portuguese still settled in the country. For the Catholic mission in Ceylon at the time of the Dutch settlement and its ultimate suppression see PIERIS 3, p. 70 f.

[2] The only passage where Vijayarājasīha's relations with the Dutch are noted. If in spite of the friction caused by trade, these relations led to no open rupture, this was largely due to the easy going and at times really feeble policy of the Dutch. Their forbearance was met by increased claims on the part of the court of Kandy. An embassy to Pegu was first sent off in the year 1740. The Dutch Company placed a vessel at its disposal which was however wrecked off the coast of Pegu. A second embassy seems to have gone to Siam in 1741. Envoys of the Sinhalese king came also in 1746 to Siam and succeeded in persuading a number of bhikkhus to undertake the journey to Ceylon. Vijayarājasīha however, died 1747 before their arrival. See CODRINGTON, HC. p. 139 f. and especially p. 154; PIERIS 3, p. 71 ff.

90 Sāminda[1] Now in order to test the condition of the Order of the Sage in these various countries, the King had letters
91 carefully written in the sacred language[2], gave them over to ministers and other dignitaries and sent these forth singly When the Lord of men heard the news that in the kingdom
92 of Ayojjhā[3] the Order existed in all its purity and in the best condition, in order to bring from that same country sons of
93 the Victor to Lankā, he sent dignitaries thither to whom he gave a writing together with many gifts and sacrificial implements
94 For the placing therein of the Tooth of the Prince of the wise the Monarch had a fair, golden reliquary made one and a half cubits high and encrusted with costly jewels and pearls
95 But before it was finished his merit was exhausted[4] after he had reigned eight years
96 This prince who was adorned with the *ornament of faith* and of many other virtues, who was at pains to purify to the utmost the splendid Order of the Buddha, that best of men after he had done much good, went finally thither to Namuci[5]
97 In this wise did the King of Lankā whose joy was in the welfare of others, who worked for his own and others' salvation, carry on the government, as best among the best, the Ruler of men who loved virtue Ye who wish for your prosperity in this world and for abundant happiness in the world beyond must therefore wholly give up indolence and do a multitude of meritorious works which will bring you many a happiness

Here ends the ninety-eighth chapter, called «History of Sirivijayarājasiha», in the Mahāvamsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious

[1] Name of Siam

[2] P *mulabhasā* 'fundamental or main language', i e Pali

[3] Ayodhyā, now Ayuthya, name of the old capital of Siam, north of Bangkok, situated on the banks of the Menam Cf J Dahlmann, Indische Fahrten (1927) I 111 ff

[4] The *puñña* in virtue of which he had attained the royal dignity. For 'reigned' the original has *thito* 'lived (as king)'

[5] Skr *namuci* is the name of one of the demons slain by Indra In Pali Namuci is a designation of Māra (S I 67[30], A II 15[30]) specially of kilesamāra (Jāt. V 455[19]), in our passage of the god of death

CHAPTER XCIX

ACCOUNT OF THE KING'S CONSECRATION AND OF OTHER FESTIVALS

After the passing of this Monarch dowered with splendid 1
virtues, his brother-in-law[1] became king of kings. Gifted with
physical beauty (he was) a delight to the eyes of the people,
filling the whole superb island of Laṅkā with splendour, a
prince of glorious grace.
When in the island of Laṅkā the year two thousand, two 2
hundred and ninety since the nirvana of the Enlightened One
had come[2] this Ruler of men whose joy was the welfare of 3
Laṅkā, comforted his subjects who were afflicted by their part-
ing from the Great king. This whole people racked by 4
suffering, like to the darkness (which sets in) when the sun
after it has illumined the whole world, goes down — the far- 5
famed King made free from grief, like to the (newly) rising
sun which illumines the whole world (afresh) and having taken 6
over the royal dignity of Laṅkā, he made everyone joyful to
the utmost. After attaining his consecration as king, the
Lord of men who was devoted in faith to the Triad of the 7
jewels, Buddha and the others, strove unweariedly after merit.
The highly famed one had the whole town (of Sirivaḍḍhana) 8
cleansed and decorated with stuffs, triumphal arches and the
like. Then he gathered together the whole of the inhabitants
of Laṅkā completely in the fair, glorious town and moving 9
along with royal magnificence, the Great king whose merit

[1] The brother of Vijayarājasīha's Mahesī who according to 98. 4, came from Madhurā. He had come to the court of Kandy with his sister and with his father Narenappa Nayaker.

[2] = A. D. 1746. The right year for Vijayarājasīha's death is 1747.

was now having its effect[1], marched round the town, his right
side turned towards it, thus making known that the realm of
10 Laṅkā bereft of its king had again a king. The Lord of
men dowered with abundant merit, resided in Sirivaḍḍhana
11 The virtuous one had (already aforetime) made the firm
resolve[2] to shelter the Order of the Sage and now under
the name of Kittisirirājasīha he ruled gloriously this
our Laṅkā Enjoying the good fortune of the royal dignity
of Laṅkā, full of discernment, recognizing that his wealth
consisted in faith, he mindful of what things are of worth
and of what things are worthless, prepared in piety a festival
12 for the three sacred objects, Buddha and so forth[3]. He gave
up evil friends and enjoyed intercourse with the learned
people, he passed his time with the good and hearkened to
13 the incomparable doctrine. Pious and wise as he was, the
Lord of men distinguished between what should be done and
what should not be done. What should not be done he avoided,
14 but to that which should be done he held fast. By the four
heart-winning qualities he made all people well disposed to
15 him and he was worthy of the praise of the learned. Hearing
that reward lies in a spiritual offering[4] and success in the
hearkening to the true doctrine and merit in the copying of
works of the true doctrine, as also in sacrificial festivals for
16 the doctrine he thought: that which is in accordance with
the true doctrine[5] must be done. He had maṇḍapas erected in

[1] For *puññodaya* — here used as an adjective — see note to 37 139

[2] P *panidhayo katrāgato* I regard *katrāgato* again as a compound verb formed under the influence of the Sinhalese, of the type *genenavā gendvā*. The King had already made the resolve in a former existence. The effect in the present of his meritorious *kamma* is that he becomes king of Laṅkā (P *patvāna Laṅkaṃ imaṃ*), and he can now carry out his resolve

[3] V 6c to the close of v 11 is a single sentence. The construction is however, quite inorganic and it is impossible to translate the sentence as a whole It is the same with the following

[4] See note to 98. 77

[5] P *saddhammato* must be understood adverbially Cf skr *dharmatas* "according to law or rule, lawfully"

many places for sermons, made canopies therein of stuff of 17
varied colours, furnished them in every possible way with
arches and other ornaments, lit lamps and spread seats, brought 18
thither with worthy service and honour preachers of the true 19
doctrine, invited them full of reverence, made them sit down
on the well prepared seats, made these preachers recite parts 20
of the true doctrine and listened with devotion the whole
night long to many suttantas, such as the Dhammacakka
Suttanta[1] and others. Since he recognized the worthlessness 21
of body, life and wealth as worthlessness and the worth of
listening to the true doctrine as worth, he was pious and 22
joyful and celebrated in common with the dignitaries and the
troops, a great festival with articles of sacrifice of every kind.
For the welfare and blessing of the multitudes dwelling within 23
and without the town the Lord of men repeatedly had spiritual 24
offerings offered and thus performed a meritorious work con-
sisting in spiritual offerings.

Full of reverence towards the bhikkhu community[2] who 25
had come from Rakkhaṅga, towards the bhikkhus of Laṅkā
and towards the many sāmaṇeras, who had renounced the
world, the Lord of men showed them favour with offerings 26
of robes and other necessaries and had the Paritta and other
salutary texts recited by them. Thus on many occasions he 27
furthered the true doctrine, made offerings of necessaries and
so increased the store of his merit.

At a cost of nine thousand, six hundred (kahāpaṇas) he 28
in his piety had a magnificent golden book made. On its 29
golden leaves he had many Suttantas inscribed such as the

[1] What is meant is the story of the Buddha's first sermon in Bārāṇasī to the *pañcavaggiyā bhikkhū*, the companions of his earlier period of asceticism. The account is given in the Vinaya, Mahāvagga I. 6. 10 ff. (= I. 8 ff.). Cf. S. V. 420 ff.

[2] Bhikkhus from Rakkhaṅga had come to Ceylon under Vimaladhammasuriya I. (94. 15) and under the second king of this name (97. 10). Kittisiri had some brought from Siam. This is narrated as a kind of appendix in 100. 54 ff. In all probability the Siamese monks are to be considered as included in this passage.

30 Dhammacakka Sutta and others and had these recited by
preachers of the true doctrine the whole night long. Honour-
ing them with many articles, he listened repeatedly to the
31 incomparable doctrine The Lord of men called scribes together,
made them copy out in one day the Dīgha-Nikāya[1], showed
32 them much favour and then had the sacred text preached the
whole night long in the right manner. He celebrated a great
33 sacrificial festival, listened to (texts) and recited himself In
his piety he had the Samyutta-Nikāya and many other books
34 copied and gave the scribes money People who had renounced
the world and inhabitants of houses[2] had other sacred books
carefully copied and when these were shown to him he was
35 highly pleased, showed them with money and other gifts much
favour and thus in his pious zeal took a share in the merit of
other dwellers in Lankā
36 Yearning for merit the Lord of men betook himself with
his retinue to superb Anurādhapura Here the King sacrificed
37 to the Bodhi tree and the sacred cetiyas with elephants, and
horses, with gold, silver and the like, and thus in divers ways
38 laid up a store of pious works Then too in royal splendour
the highly-famed Lord of men visited the Mahiyaṅgaṇa-cetiya
and the superb Nakhā-cetiya and reverenced them by the
celebration of a great festival and so laid up a store of merit
39 In order to honour with sacrifices the beautiful cetiyas and
vihāras erected by the Lord of men Parakkama in superb Pu-
40 latthinagara, the highly famed King rich in faith, betook
himself thither with a great retinue and sacrificed to them in
41 the right way Endowed with faith and other virtues the King
also honoured the Rajata-vihāra[3] and brought together a store
of merit
42 After a sacrificial festival for the lotus-hued patron god
and other deities such as was popularly recognized as bring-

[1] P *dīghāgamaṃ* *āgama* is synonym for *nikāya* The same in 33 *saṃyuttāgama*

[2] P *pabbajitā* and *gahatthā*, i e priests and laymen The sentence in 34 35 is linguistically quite incorrect.

[3] Now Ridi vihāra, north of Kurunegala.

ing luck even in the days of former sovereigns of Laṅkā[1],
he had for the purpose of a military display[2], the whole town 43
without exception put in order like the city of the gods. He
gathered together all the inhabitants of Laṅkā and in the town 44
he had the people from the individual provinces separated and
made them dwell in different places, provided with standards. 45
Then he had the symbols[3] in the temples of the gods placed
on the back of an elephant. He had the elephant surrounded[4] 46
by divers beaters of the drum and the tambourine and by
crowds of dancers[5], by various groups of elephants and divers
groups of horses, by people wearing the Brahman dress of 47
various stuffs and with (divers) ornaments, by people carrying
divers umbrellas and divers fly-whisks; by various groups of 48
women and various groups of dignitaries, by people carrying
divers shields and divers swords, by such as carried divers 49
spears and various symbols[6], by such as carried various stuffs

[1] Something of this sort must have been in the mind of the chronicler when he wrote this passage with its absolutely confused style. *Maṅgalasammataṃ* must be taken as attribute to *pūjā* contained in the compound which follows (42 c d). The Col. Ed. tries at least to smoothe away the difficulties by reading instead of the °*bhūpālā* of the MSS. °*bhūpā va*. I fear this amounts to a correction of the author.

[2] P. *senaṅgadassanatthāya*. W. does not give the full sense of this expression. That a military tournament is meant is clear from verses 44-45 a b. The assembled people are divided according to the individual local contingents of which the army is made up. Each contingent has its special flag. The army thus forms the main element in the festive procession.

[3] P. *devaṭṭhāna-āvudhāni*. Skr. *āyudha* means besides "weapon", "implement" in general. W. translates quite correctly "the emblems of the gods that were in the temples".

[4] Anticipates *hatthiṃ parivāriya* in v. 51.

[5] The compound is not in the least clear. *Maddalakehi* at the end seems to be an adjective form; *saṃkiṇṇa* might be used substantively as is often the case with the past part = "accumlation". The wearisome repetition of *nānā* in the sequel is probably meant to express the endlessness of the procession. The same occurs in 85. 112 ff. and 88. 117 ff. The words *soṇṇa* and *rūpiya* are repeated in the same way in 85. 26 ff. and 89. 19 ff.

[6] Here again *āvudha* is used. I should prefer here to take the word

50 and various banners; by people who had come from various regions and who understood the different tongues; by such as were practised in the various arts and by divers artisans —
51 with such and many other people he had the elephant surrounded, ordering them to go immediately in front or behind.
52 Thereupon the King set forth, like to the Prince of the gods, with great (and) royal splendour and marched round the whole town, his right side turned towards it. Finally[1] they all arrived again and entered (the town) according to their rank[2].
53 When our King of kings[3], dowered with faith, wisdom and other virtues, was wont every year to hold the Āsāḷhi[4]
54 festival, he was minded beforehand to celebrate a sacrificial festival for the Buddha. He had a canopy fastened on the
55 back of the royal elephant beautifully ornamented with gold embroidery. Then he had the elephant whose tusk was as
56 the bright moon[5], decorated with ornaments and then surrounded by (other) elephants whose riders held in their hand silver umbrellas and fly-whisks[6] and flowers of every kind, by

in the same sense as in v. 45, as "weapons" are already mentioned in the foregoing.

[1] P. *niṭṭhite* used as adverb, as also in v. 63.

[2] This verse is a good example of the utter neglect of style where the subject *so rājā* (*nikkhamitvā, katvā*) in the same verse is followed by the plural predicate *pavisanti*.

[3] P. *amhākaṃ rājarājānaṃ*. The expression "our King" is particularly noteworthy. In the whole of the Mahāvaṃsa it occurs only here under Kittisirirājajasīha (cf. also v. 133 and 163, as well as 100. 228) and seems to prove that our section was composed under this king and during his lifetime, cf. v. 76 ff. and note to 100. 300. The construction of the sentence is again quite confused. The subject stands in the acc.; *-guṇādayo* which I regard as a transposition of *-ādiguṇo*, is changed by the Col. Ed. into *-guṇodayo*. But does this help us much? The sentence remains in disorder.

[4] The āsāḷha month corresponds to June-July. The festival held in this month brings in the rainy season H. Kern, Manual of Indian Buddhism, p. 100.

[5] P. *subbha-candi-radaṃ*. I separate the compound thus, *candi* seeming to me to stand for skr. *candra* or *candrin*. The explanation is however, uncertain.

[6] The acc. *rajatacchattacāmare* is governed by *gāhaka* in the follow-

people having in their hand articles of sacrifice and wearing
garlands of flowers, by people with various banners and pennons 57
and by such as wore divers garments, by various royal digni-
taries and by people come hither from various regions. Finally 58
the Lord of men placed the splendid sparkling casket of
gold in which the bodily relic[1] of the Buddha was contained 59
carefully under the canopy and by the strewing of flowers
let a rain of flowers rain (upon it). With the shouts of the 60
cries of "Hail"!, with the sound of the shell trumpets and
the cymbals and with the rattle of the various drums celebrat-
ing high festival[2], good and pious people their hearts filled 61
with astonishment and admiration, with hands folded before
the brow, paid lasting reverence (to the relic). But the Lord 62
of men had the Tooth Relic reverenced with all kinds of
particularly costly sacrificial gifts by people who bore lamps
on poles and who were festively attired. Then placing at the 63
head the relic which holds the first place among all things
worthy of reverence by gods, demons and men, he ordered 64
all the rest, such as gods[3] and men to follow behind. He
himself in royal splendour to the strains of hymns of praise
which promised happiness, set forth in all the majesty of a
Great king, with great magnificence showing men how even 65
thus the King of the gods in the city of the gods is wont
to celebrate high festival for the relics.

Dowered with faith and many other virtues, devoted to 66
the Buddha, his Doctrine and his Order, collected, mindful of
what is worth and of what is worthless, ever performing
meritorious works, such as almsgiving and the like; distinguish- 67
ed by splendid virtues, piety, wisdom, mercy, shining over the

ing compound. Thus we have again to do with a compound resolved into its component parts (= *rajatacchattacāmarapuppphagāhakaārūḷhaha-tthīhi*).

[1] Not "relics" (W.); it is only a case of the Tooth Relic.

[2] I am inclined to think that *kārento* which might be the direct equivalent of the skr. *kārayantas*, belongs to the following *janā pūjenti.*

[3] By *surā* are meant the figures of deities or divine symbols which are carried in processions.

50 and various banners, by people who had come from various regions and who understood the different tongues, by such as were practised in the various arts and by divers artisans —
51 with such and many other people he had the elephant surrounded, ordering them to go immediately in front or behind
52 Thereupon the King set forth, like to the Prince of the gods, with great (and) royal splendour and marched round the whole town, his right side turned towards it Finally[1] they all arrived again and entered (the town) according to their rank[2].
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in the same sense as in v 45 as weapons are already mentioned in the foregoing

[1] P *nitthite* used as adverb, as also in v 58

[2] *This verse is a good example of the utter neglect of style where* the subject *so rājā* (*nikkhamitva, katvā*) in the same verse is followed by the plural predicate *parisanti*

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[4] The asalha month corresponds to June July The festival held in this month brings in the rainy season H Kern Manual of Indian Buddhism, p 100

[5] P *subbha-candi radam* I separate the compound thus, *candi* seeming to me to stand for skr *candra* or *candrin* The explanation is however, uncertain

[6] The acc *rajatacchattacāmare* is governed by *gāhaka* in the follow

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with astonishment and admiration, with hands folded before
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of men had the Tooth Relic reverenced with all kinds of
particularly costly sacrificial gifts by people who bore lamps
on poles and who were festively attired. Then placing at the 63
head the relic which holds the first place among all things
worthy of reverence by gods, demons and men, he ordered 64
all the rest, such as gods[3] and men to follow behind. He
himself in royal splendour to the strains of hymns of praise
which promised happiness, set forth in all the majesty of a
Great king, with great magnificence showing men how even 65
thus the King of the gods in the city of the gods is wont
to celebrate high festival for the relics.

Dowered with faith and many other virtues, devoted to 66
the Buddha, his Doctrine and his Order, collected, mindful of
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[3] By *surā* are meant the figures of deities or divine symbols which are carried in processions.

island, with faith in the Enlightened One, living according to the good doctrine of the Sage, dowered with the ten powers[1], ever giving alms and performing other meritorious works unweariedly and full of zeal, mindful of what is worth and of what is worthless, he ever acted in this way for the welfare of all men

68 With great ceremony he instituted day by day a great
festival for the Tooth Relic, reverential towards the triad of
69 the jewels His own community which had been received into
the Order in his own time, he provided in pious reverence
70 from his own property with the four articles of use Devoted
in piety to the true doctrine he listened again and again to
(the preaching of the) doctrine and accumulated in pious re-
71 verence numerous meritorious works He furthered as during
the lifetime of the Buddha the Order of the Victor and in-
72 creased the happiness of the people dwelling in Laṅkā When
he heard of the doings of former kings, of Parakkamabahu
and others, he recognized it as right and imitated their doings
73 He learned the duties of a king, was filled with reverence for
kingly duties, shunned the (four) false paths, schooled himself
in the four heart-winning qualities, showed his brothers and
74 others all favour by befitting action, made them contented
and won their hearts by caring for them in the right way
75 In this manner the Sovereign of Laṅkā, the Lord of men,
whose joy was in the welfare of others sheltered in the best
way, ever unweariedly the Order of the Master as likewise
the laity, and when he learned the history of the many rulers
of men who had formerly been kings in Laṅkā, he mused on
their deeds and made the resolve "I also will fulfil the duties
76 of a king" In making this resolve he thought of the work,
entitled Mahāvaṃsa[2], in which the ancient history of the
kings of the great dynasty as of those of the lesser dynasty
77 is narrated in the form of verses, from Mahāsammata to (the

[1] See PTS P D s.v *bala*

[2] For this passage see my edition of the Cūlavaṃsa, I, Introduction p IV-V

kings of) Hattiselapura[1]. And the King of Laṅkā caused an 78
examination to be made in due order of this book existing on
the island of Laṅkā and of the same chronicle of the kings
of Laṅkā brought from the Sāminda country — of these two 79
books separately — and when he heard that the Mahāvaṃsa 80
was deficient, he also caused the unknown history of the kings
of the latter time — beginning with Parakkamabāhu up to the
kings of the present time — to be written down and to be
continued (thus) the royal chronicle.

Thus while he neither transgressed the commandments (laid 81
down) for a king nor the precepts of religion, the Lord of
men carried on the royal government in justice and peace. In 82
accordance with the duties of a king he daily did good, such
as almsgiving and the like, mindful of the sublime religion,
practising the four heart-winning things, practising generosity 83
and friendly speech and care for the welfare of others, and con-
stant in condescension. To show the world that he respected 84
his royal brothers[2] as himself he assigned the two uparājas
vehicles and retinue and every kind of distinction, made them 85
thus completely contented and thus showed forth in the best
way the fourfold heart-winning qualities. These two who 86
in this wise attained distinction, celebrated each for himself
a great festival for the Tooth Relic. They had books copied

[1] I. e. Kurunegala. According to this passage the chronicle came down to the time of Parakkamabāhu IV., who resided in Kurunegala. The MSS. confirm this where after 90. 102 a new section begins. The mode of expression in this passage (v. 80) is only in so far inexact as the reign of Parakkamabāhu IV. does not begin the new part but stands at the close of the old. That the Siamese Mahāvaṃsa goes further than the original Mahāvaṃsa of Mahānāma is not expressly stated. The Mahānāyaka of the Malvatu-vihāra in Kandy, Tibbatuvava, was entrusted by the King with the task of comparing the two chronicles and of completing the Sinhalese Mahāvaṃsa (cf. P. E. Pieris, 3, p. 142). In all probability, therefore, he was the author of chapters 90. 104 to 100 of the Mahāvaṃsa.

[2] The King had two brothers of whom the one was brought with him and his sister to Ceylon by their father Narenappa Nayaker (Pieris 3, p. 78) while the youngest was born there.

87 and gave the scribes money. They invited the bhikkhu com-
munity and each for himself continually gave them alms, such
88 as constant maintenance and the like. By listening to the
pious doctrine they learned to distinguish between what should
be done and what should be left undone, abhorred sinful
89 actions and were full of zeal for meritorious deeds. By testing
they discovered the ablest, most skilful and most pious sāmaṇeras,
and to these sāmaṇeras they presented as gift the eightfold
necessaries[1], so that they were worthy of a king, had the
90 ceremony of admission to the Order performed for them and
took care that they were rightly instructed in the precepts of
monastic discipline and in the suttantas Then they had
dwellings erected which was a great blessing[2] (for themselves),
91 made the monks dwell therein caring for them meanwhile in
worthy fashion full of reverence They considered in every
92 way what should be done for the laity and the Order, developed
in accordance with the intentions of the King, kindness to-
wards the good and sternness towards the bad, according to
93 their deserts, strove in this wise and with other means after
good and acted according to the intentions of the King as
good friends of the laity and of the Order.
94 Many former kings for the sake of gaining the royal
dignity or for other reasons did not look on each other as
95 brothers or otherwise (as friends), but fought one another and
as a result of their discord their subjects were even so minded
But these three (brothers) who had yet attained such royal
96 power, shunned all discord and showed no weaknesses. They
dwelt together in one town and were ever friendly with one
97 another as their own shadows Thus there was never the least
enmity among them on account of the royal dignity and they
developed the virtues of the Bodhisatta in the Sīlavajātaka[3].

[1] See note to 60 71

[2] On account of the merit, the *puñña*, inherent in such performances.

[3] Cf Mahāsīlavajātaka (Nr 51), Fausböll I 261 ff The point of the comparison lies in the fact that the Bodhisatta as king Mahāsīlava of Benares, although his position was threatened by the Kosala king undertakes no deed of violence in order to preserve his kingdom

The Licchavis too of Visālā carried on the government in 98
harmony and without discord and won thereby the victory[1].
Rulers of men of little discernment, infatuated by the beauty 99
of the maiden Laṅkā, did what they ought not to have done
and fell in consequence into much misfortune. But rulers of 100
great discernment, made happy by the beauty of the maiden
Laṅkā, did what they ought and were thereby happy and
famous. As rulers of this kind have these three Lords of men 101
held fast to harmony, and I say: that was wonderful.

When the Great king, rich in virtue, saw his brother to 102
whom he had granted the umbrella and other distinctions
enter (in pomp) with royal retinue, he rejoiced, gazed at him 103
again and again and realized thus in himself the unique,
sublimest spiritual perfection[2].

As the highest in the dynasties of the princes of the earth, 104
as supporting pillars of the Order, possessed of immeasurable
virtue, living according to the pious doctrine, shunning to
follow the path of evil, associating with pious friends, desirous
of reaching the road to the salutary path of delivrance — thus 105
these Rulers dowered with pious virtue, who saw in faith their
highest good, did honour with sacrifice in piety to the Tooth
of the blessed Enlightened One and to the Doctrine and the
Order, accumulated abundant merit assuring the fullest salvation and piously sheltered the Order of the Sage and this
stainless Laṅkā. For ever (therefore) shall one honour this 106
Ruler of Laṅkā, distinguished by virtue, who ever remembers
the fulness of valuable qualities of the Sage, the sole Lord
protector of the world, having piously accepted them in his
heart, and who then further remembers[3] his sublime doctrine
and his Order[4].

[1] Visālā, name for Vesālī (note to 37. 80). Our verse alludes to the fact that the Licchavis were able to maintain themselves against the advancing Kosalas while the Sakiyas succumbed to them. Rhys Davids, Buddhist India, p. 259—60.

[2] P. *bhāvayī .. brahmabhāvanaṃ ekakaṃ*. W. translates freely "only turned his mind to contemplate the virtue of benevolence to all men."

[3] I translate *anussaranataṃ* thus in contrast to the preceding *sarantaṃ*, the former being a necessary corollary of the latter.

[4] *Dhammagaṇaṃ* is a dvandva compound and *gaṇa* = *saṃgha*.

107 Thus this Monarch dowered with great royal power, the
great King of kings, protected the Order of the Sage and
this stainless Lankā in pious fashion, making men of all
countries contented and dispensing to them great happiness
he made gods and men beam with joy, discerning, strong in
merit, miraculous power and dominion
108 While the highly famed Great King dowered with great
power, resided in the great town and protected the laity and
109 the Order, the powerful Olandas, sea merchants who had been
entrusted with the protection of Lankā at the time of King
Rājasiha[1], fulfilled the task of envoys to the kings who ruled
110 in Lankā Every year they were wont to bring with great
reverence and great ceremony as gifts and lay before the King
111 various stuffs, made in different countries, along with many
other articles, fitted for the use of a king, which they had
112 carefully chosen out In consequence of former actions of the
inhabitants of Lankā or in consequence of their neglect of
the deities and so forth who were entrusted with the care of
113 the laity and the Order, they were now angered in the
highest degree and in every way cruelly tortured the inhabi-
114 tants of Lankā[2] When the highly famed Great king heard
of these events he thought this was not as it should be, and
115 sent dignitaries forth The dignitaries set forth with the
people living in Lankā, fought a fearful battle with the Olanda
116 people, destroyed the foe, burned down his strongholds and
terrified him in every possible way
117 Now when the enemy were thus tortured by fear a cruel
treacherous man[3] placed himself at their head, low-minded,

[1] Rajasiha II Cf 96 35

[2] The meaning is this The inhabitants of Lankā have obviously failed in their duty to the deities who like Viṣṇu are the protectors of the country they have neglected their worship To punish them the offended deities rouse the wrath of the Dutch for the oppression and injury of the people of Lanka in every possible way

[3] Baron van Eck is meant here He succeeded Schreuder as governor of Ceylon in 1762. The word *khīnāyu* is an allusion to the fact that van Eck died suddenly, immediately after the unfortunate campaign against Kandy Cf v 135

a villain, the end of whose life was near, and with a great 118
following consisting of Jāvakas and many other people he
laid waste in every (possible) way the various provinces and
villages, the vihāras and the temples of the gods, the bridges,
rest-houses and the like. The dignitaries charged by the Ruler 119
of Laṅkā fought here and there in every way with their war-
skilled troops, but although they defeated the foe in various 120
places, the enemy were not to be warded off, and they ad-
vanced against the town. The war-equipped high dignitaries 121
hindered the foe on the way by every means, took up a
frontal position against them and checked their gradual ad-
vance. The discerning Great king, the Ruler of Laṅkā, who 122
understood the conditions of the time, thought: it is impossible
to stop the advance of the foe who are like a forest fire, and
he entrusted the two uparājas with the sacred Tooth Relic, 123
the Mahesī, his sister and all valuable treasures, to watch
over them well and sent them to a province which was 124
scarcely passable owing to mountains, forests and difficult
roads. Thereupon the hostile hosts like cruel armies of yakkhas, 125
forced their way into the town and destroyed the sacred
books and everything else. Surrounded by his great digni- 126
taries like the senāpati and others, and by war-skilled heroes
who knew the right occasions from the wrong, the Great 127
king took up a position at the head of his great army here
and there in the suburbs situated not far from the capital,
and invested the town on every side. The people dwelling 128
in Laṅkā who had remained true to the teaching of the Buddha
adopted the plans of the King and cut down here and there
many of those who had gone over to the enemy, whomever 129
they caught sight of, but the envoys of the King and the
other officials and the community of the bhikkhus they took
under their protection. The bold warriors gifted with heroism 130
who were on the King's side played the war game, and as their
aim was the protection of the Order of the Victor, they fought 131
surrounded by their warlike men in every way with the enemy
who were posted at various positions on the road, put them 132
to flight, began then to fight also with those who lay in the

133 town and repeatedly caused them great losses[1] I think it
was no wonder that men adopted the plans of our King the
134 deities did the same Hence after a short time the greatly
deluded leader of the enemy was smitten with fear, horror
and delusion which came over him owing to the might of the
135 gods and owing to the power of the merit (of the King) He
left the fair town, fled without prestige and landed in the
136 fire of death Victims of the power of infatuation all the
hostile armies who had advanced, were helpless and shelterless,
137 and came to a bad end Some were visited by illness, some
tortured by hunger and disease, some were slain in fight,
some had lost themselves in mountain and wilderness thus
were the miserable people on the enemy's side destroyed
138 "Protected in such wise by gods, men and others", one said,
"this Monarch is certainly of great power he is rich in
139 merit Who in the world will be able to neglect the commands of so mighty a king who is so rich in merit[2]?"

[1] Verses 130—132 describe the guerilla tactics employed by the Sinhalese The attacks are directed first against the communications in the rear the positions in the line of march The troops in Kandy are thereby isolated and so exposed to attack

[2] The whole section vv 103 139 (cf vv 169 ff and note) is perhaps historically the most valuable part of the latest Cūlavaṃsa It refers to the military events of the year 1765 (see H W Codrington, HC p 142 f P E Pieris 3 p 116 ff) The causes of the conflict again lay in the sphere of trade policy The King wanted to secure his share in the areca and elephant trade and to compel the Dutch to yield this he harmed and hindered the business of the Dutch Company in every possible way particularly in their export of cinnamon which was for them specially important At first the Dutch sought to keep the peace by weak surrender It was not until 1763 under the Governor van Eck that they decided on warlike measures Their first venture in this year was a failure. Two years later the Dutch troops entered Kandy, but suffered so under the perpetual attacks of the Sinhalese that they were soon obliged to evacuate the town and withdraw with the severest losses to Colombo Three facts are passed over by the chronicle in silence 1) There was a conspiracy in 1761 against Kittisiri, important so far as it was obviously the work of the nationalistic circles at Court and was directed against the Dravidian dynasty 2) At the beginning of the hostilities the King started negotiations with the

When after the hosts of the enemy had been done away 140
with, the Great king no longer beheld a hostile army, the
Ruler had the fair town cleansed as formerly and in fitting 141
manner the temple of the Tooth Relic and the other sanc-
tuaries specially beautifully decorated. He was filled with 142
pure reverence towards the sublime doctrine of the Enlightened
One, meditated ever on the sublime words of the Enlightened
One, was filled with remembrance of the virtues of the sons
of the Enlightened One and ever reverenced the Tooth of the
Royal Enlightened One. The Ruler of men who in such wise 143
was completely devoted to the three sacred objects, could not
bear the pain accruing to him from his separation from the
Tooth Relic. So the Great king, strong in faith, betook him-
self[1] with his retinue to the most impassable part of the
province, and when there he caught sight of the reliquary, 144
he reverenced it piously, his heart full of astonishment and
admiration. He bent his head to the ground, worshipped (the 145
relic) with his head, greeted reverently the community of the
bhikkhus and so chased away his pain. Filled with good 146
comfort, he raised the casket with the relic to his head, hold
a great feast and celebrating with the sound of the cries of 147
"Hail"! and the fivefold musical instruments a great cere-
monial festival, he entered into his town. Then when the 148
people of Laṅkā saw the Ruler with the relic, they rejoiced
greatly and sent forth their cries of "Hail!". He brought 149
the relic into the former Tooth temple and instituted all the
former festive customs in increased measure.

The Saṃgharāja[2] and many other sons of the Buddha in 150

British, which however, led to nothing. The British emissary to the Court of Kandy was Pybus. 3) A famine in his own country caused by the neglect of agriculture during the war forced Kittisiri in 1766 to make a peace treaty with the Dutch very unfavourable to himself. By this treaty he made over to the Dutch the whole coastal district of the island, so that the kingdom of Kandy was completely cut off from the outer world and absolutely dependent on the good will of the Company.

[1] One expects of course a *gantvā* to govern the acc. *mahāduggaṃ raṭṭhaṃ*.

[2] This was the Saraṇaṃkara mentioned in 97. 51 and 98. 23. The

all the monasteries of the town who saw that the danger of
151 the cycle of rebirths is far greater than the danger of the
foe, had not given up the monastic life but had departed
152 with books, relics and articles of use, and dwelling outside
of the country had protected the Order The King of kings
153 brought them all speedily back to the town, had the monasteries in the town cleansed and made the bhikkhus take
up their abode in them Then he sought out from among
those who were charged to school themselves in the study of
the scriptures and in the carrying out of the commandments,
154 the appropriate preachers, invited them and listened ever and
again to the Rājovāda[1] and other portions of the sacred
scriptures

155 The many Olanda people who had been our foes thought
156 of the custom of the country They all came together, took
counsel with one another and said '*to* capture the whole of
Lanka is impossible" After they had finally realised this
157 they consulted ever and again 'The people here who rebelled
against the King, the ruler of Lankā have gone to perdition,
158 it will be the same with us It is fitting therefore that we
dwell here in the town with humility, love and reverence
159 towards the sovereign of Lankā' Together with gifts for
the King they took full of reverence the beautiful, empty
160 silver reliquary which had been carried away by the great
fool and which sparkled like a cetiya, as well as the golden
161 canopy[2] They thought we shall seek pardon for the wrong

title of *saṅgharāja* borne by the head of the whole priesthood but which had fallen into disuse since the 15th century had been conferred on him by Kittisiri in 1760 P E Pieris 3 p 76

[1] I e Admonishing of the King Perhaps this is the same as the Rājavagga of Aṅguttara III 147 ff

[2] When the Dutch under van Eck advanced on Kandy the Sinhalese secured the Tooth Relic (v 123 f) but the *karaṇḍaka* in which it was preserved and the *sivikā* erected over it in the temple fell into the hands of the enemy Van Eck took them with him on his retreat to Colombo His successor however J W Falck, returned these highly sacred objects. The result of this prudent and conciliatory policy was

committed by our countrymen and shall from now onwards live (in peace), betook themselves to the Ruler, praised him, showed him reverence and spake many friendly words. The 162
King, the sovereign of Laṅkā, pardoned them their great wrong and showed them distinction in every way. In this 163
wise by friendly negotiations our King achieved with them firm and lasting[1] friendly relations. The Olanda people also 164
became thoroughly reconciled with the King of Laṅkā and were wont every year to present him along with valuable gifts, the products of various countries, with a royal letter which had been handed to them. But the Ruler had the 165
sacred casket which had fallen into the hands of the infidels, covered with gold and silver and set with jewels. After having 166
thus made its beauty like to that of the sun[2] he had the Tooth Relic placed therein and reverenced it as the King of the gods.

Thus was the pride of the wicked hosts of the infidel foe 167
destroyed. Ha, (so great was) the power of the merit of the pious, believing Ruler of the Sīhalas. Thinking of this astonishing, wonderful thing, people should devote themselves full of reverence to the virtue of the true faith which is incomparable, praised by the good, splendid.

Since at that time there was not a single bhikkhu on the 168
fair island of Laṅkā, he had after taking over the burden of government, residing in Sirivaḍḍhana, made many sāmaṇeras 169
and as many sons of good family go through the ceremony of renunciation of the world and of admission to the Order. Of these bhikkhus some were preachers of the doctrine and 170
acquainted with the precepts of monastic discipline, some led a life of contemplation or that of hermits. After he had thus 171
ordained so many hundreds of bhikkhus dowered with this and other virtues[3] he beautified the whole of Laṅkā (formerly)

that the beleaguered garrison left behind in Kandy and reduced to sore straits, was granted a free passage.

[1] P. *thiraṃ katvāna* must, I think, be referred to *mettibhāvaṃ.*

[2] P. *sataraṃsi*, the "hundred-rayed", name of the sun.

[3] Pāda a is of course defective. We expect *evamādiguṇayutte.* But

172 bereft of bhikkhus. Day by day he performed meritorious
works, invited the community and dispensed to it daily food
and food for the sick, mindful of the welfare of the bhikkhu
community.
173 For bhikkhus and sāmaṇeras there were two kinds of disease,
such as had to do with the body and such as affected the
mind. To cure mental disease the best of men had the Vinaya
174 texts and the Suttantas preached. After he had had the bhikkhus
instructed in the Vinaya and the Suttantas which are the cause
of the removal of desire and other diseases among mental
175 diseases, the Ruler — when suffering arises through bodily
disease it is difficult for the bhikkhus to school themselves
in the study of the scriptures and in the carrying out of the
176 commandments[1] — to calm disease like fever[2] and the like
for this reason invited the community. He appointed for them
177 two physicians, well schooled in the medical art, and nurses.
To these he granted villages and fields and facilities in the
178 way of garments, ornaments and the like, and as price for
medicines he gave them yearly a hundred (money pieces) from
179 the royal treasury. In the various monasteries the Ruler asked
after the health or ill-health of the sāmaṇeras and the bhikkhus
and gave them the requisite care.
180 In this wise also the King of kings dispensed gain for the
community. "Of all gains[3] the gain of health is the highest
181 and best", thus the Buddha taught and therefore even he also
dispensed[4] it. He furthered in the best way the Order of
the Enlightened One by making it lustrous.

emendation is inadmissible. The fault is the author's, the MSS. are not to blame

[1] V. 175 is a kind of parenthesis. In correct language the sentence would be accompanied by an *iti* or *iti cintiya* as a reflection of the King's. Cf. note to 100 52.

[2] W. is probably right in connecting *jarā* here with skr. *jvara* (not P. *jarā* "age").

[3] Note that *lābha* means a gain or advantage of an external kind.

[4] *Apūjayi* is here used as synonym for *dāpayi* in 180b.

Formerly the rulers of Laṅkā, the best of most excellent 182
men, the supports of the Order, removed the infidelity of the hosts of the foe and then bore the burden of the royal dignity. When the King heard thereof and himself compassed in spirit the doctrine revealing itself to him and fraught with immeasurable blessing, he performed continually meritorious works, unweariedly, a support of the Order[1].

Here ends the ninety-ninth chapter, called »Account of the King's Consecration and of Other Festivals», in the Mahāvaṃsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

[1] The panegyric character of many strophes occurring in this chapter of the chronicle seems again to prove that it was composed when the king Kittisirirājasīha was alive. The poet flatters him with the conventional phrases.

CHAPTER C

THE HISTORY OF KITTISIRIRĀJASĪHA

1 The highly famed Lord of men[1] honoured the Tooth Relic
with constant reverence even as (a world ruler) his wheel[2]
and worshipped it in every way sacrificing[3] with all kinds of
flowers, such as sumana, campaka, punnāga, nāga, kaṇikāra,
2 ketakī[4], white and blue lotus flowers and the like, as well
as with perfumes of every sort, such as sandal and aloe wood;
3 with divers kinds of fragrant incense, with sugar, honey and
so forth and with delicious remedies like betel nut, camphor
4 and betel leaves; with various prepared dishes such as sweet
food, rice and cake, with golden bananas and rose-apples,
with bread fruits, mangoes and phārusa fruits[5], with date
5 plums[6], oranges[7] and sweet muṇḍakas, with yellow and green

[1] I anticipate the subject *mahāyaso* (v. 8c) and *janindo* (v. 12a). The sentence goes on to v. 22 in which the first finite verb appears. Various gerunds occur before this and the subject "the King" is repeated several times.

[2] P. *cakka*. This is the first of the seven jewels (*ratanāni*) peculiar to the *rājā cakkavatti*, the world ruling king (cf. for this D. II. 172 ff., III. 61 ff.; M. III. 172; PTS. PD. s. v. *ratana*), a marvellous chariot that carries him victoriously over all countries.

[3] I anticipate *pūjetvā* in v. 8

[4] The botanical names are successively: 1) jasminum grandiflorum, 2) michelia champaka, 3) rottleria tinctoria, 4) mesua ferrea, 5) pterospermum acerifolium, 6) pandanus *odoratissimus*.

[5] Cf. also Mhvs. 69. 43 and note.

[6] P. *timbarūsaka* a kind of diospyros. The *fruit called timbaru* is compared in Ja. VI. 457[1] to the youthful female breast. We do not know what the *phārusa* is.

[7] P. *nāraṅga* = skr. *nāraṅga* which is borrowed from the Persian *nārang*. *Muṇḍaka* again is unknown.

coconuts, with ripe pomegranates, with dates, grapes and various 6
other fruits, with many fine roots[1] and sprouts of every kind.
With such and other offerings, with the five kinds of musical 7
instruments, with many of the things taken over from former
kings and with new thereto he worshipped the Tooth Relic 8
day by day, thereby intent on merit, increasing the store of
his meritorious works. With gold and silver, with fair precious 9
stones and pearls, with countless, brightly embroidered,
gleaming stuffs; with canopies, curtains and robes, with many 10
articles of use and manifold ornaments, with many elephants 11
and steeds, as well as with cattle and buffaloes, with many
slaves male and female and with numerous villages and fields
he sacrificed full of zeal to the Tooth of the Enlightened One 12
and when the Prince of men beheld it he was filled with pious
joy. He was minded to have the golden casket completed 13
which had been begun under former kings but had never
been finished. After a splendid, jewel-encrusted[2] casket had 14
been made for two thousand suvaṇṇas and seven nikkhas[3],
the Lord of men ever intent on meritorious action, had a 15
costly, splendid, magnificent, large diamond placed on the point;
one hundred and sixty-eight beautiful, costly, splendid (smaller) 16
diamonds, well worth seeing, and one hundred and seventy-
one topazes[4] he had put on it, further he had it set with 17
five hundred and eighty-five blue sapphires and four thousand 18
eight hundred and eighty rubies, also he had it set with seven 19
hundred and seventy-eight pearls, and when the costly casket

[1] P. *sādhukandehi.* The word *kanda* „root" (skr. the same) is missing in CHILDERS and also in the PTS. P. D.

[2] P. *maṇivaṇṇa.* The word *vaṇṇa* does not meam "colour" here, but "beauty, ornament", as is often the case.

[3] *Suvaṇṇa* as well as *nikkha,* as also skr. *suvarṇa* and *niṣka* denote a weight and a coin. The *nikkha* is = 15 *suvaṇṇa* (PTS P. D. s. v.).

[4] P. *puppharāgamaṇiratane.* It is true that *puppharāga* by itself means "topaz" (= skr. *puṣparāga*). What is expressed however, is the fundamental meaning "flower coloured". Thus we have in the same way *nīlamaṇi* "blue gem" (17 d) for "sapphire" and *rattamaṇiratana* "red gem" (18 c d) for "ruby".

20 was finished he had two further caskets made in which to
place it and had these also set with costly splendid, beautiful
21 jewels. The Ruler of men had the casket made by the famous
22 King Vimaladhammasuriya[1] overlaid with gold. Then the
Ruler of men, celebrating a great festival, placed the Tooth
23 of the Sage in these same (caskets). Full of pious joy the
Ruler dedicated a large village, Akarabhaṇḍa by name, to the
Tooth of the Prince of the wise.
24 At the festival of the relic the Ruler in his mercy thought
25 to show the Tooth Relic to the inhabitants of Laṅkā. After
the Ruler had had the whole town of Sirivaḍḍhana carefully
cleansed and decorated throughout with arches of many-
26 coloured stuffs, with rows of arches of banana leaves, with
bunches of coco blossoms and with all kinds of flags and
27 pennons, he gathered together in the town all the people of
Laṅkā. The Ruler of men himself, adorned with all the royal
28 ornaments, like the King of the gods, betook himself after
he had previously celebrated many great sacrifices of all kinds,
to the temple of the Tooth Relic, sacrificed to it in every
29 possible way, worshipped it, he the Ruler by throwing himself
in humble posture[2] to the earth out of reverence for the
30 Tooth Relic of the King of the wise. Then he took the
golden lotus flower together with the Tooth in the lotus of
31 his hand and went forth from the temple with it. With sacrificial ceremonies, celebrated[3] with silver umbrellas and fly-
whisks of yak tails[4], with golden and silver flowers, with the
32 five kinds of flowers, lāja[5] and so forth, with many jewels
and pearls, with gold and silver, with various coloured stuffs

[1] In Mhvs. 91. 11 ff. it is related that he brought the Tooth Relic from Labujagāma to Kandy. Nothing is said in the passage about the making of a *karaṇḍa*.

[2] Cf. 98. 80 and note.

[3] P. *kāriyamānapūjāsu* in v. 34 c.

[4] P. *camaricāmarehi*. The fem. *camarī* is also employed in Skr. (BR. s. v. *camara*). See above 93. 14, as well as Jāt. IV. 260 *camarinaṅguṭṭha*.

[5] Cf. 98. 46 and note.

and many kinds of ornaments, with divers fragrant flowers, 33
with many lamps and incense, and amid the sound of the five
musical instruments, the shell trumpets, the cymbals and the
rest, and amid the noise of the many thousandfold cries of 34
Hail! — it was like foam-crowned billows[1] — the highly 35
famed King marched in procession like a world ruler in his
chariot[2]. In the superb, beautiful maṇḍapa, decorated with 36
all kinds of brightly embroidered cloths, like a heavenly
maṇḍapa stood the King, the Ruler of men, like the King of 37
the gods at the head of the company of the gods, and then
the King showing the multitude of the people the sacred
beautiful Tooth of the Prince of the wise, right hard to attain
in hundreds of thousands of world ages, filled them all with 38
bliss, heaped up a store of merit and laid (the relic) again
in the casket.

In this wise, feeling every kind of bliss, as at the sight 39
of the living Buddha, the multitude also increased the store
of their merits.

Intent on good, he repeatedly exhibited the Tooth Relic 40
in the same way and so stored up much good. Of villages 41
and fields devoted by former kings of Laṅkā to the Tooth
Relic he took not away the very least. Day by day holding 42
a great sacrificial festival in joyful faith, he dedicated many
elephants and horses and in the same way bulls and buffaloes,
as well as a prosperous, populous village by name Rajakatthala, 43
and another large village by name Muttāpabbata[3] and gained
thereby for himself the value of meritorious works.

He was mindful of the purity of the Order. Amongst the 44
bhikkhus who were formerly present on the splendid island
of Laṅkā, and amongst all the sāmaṇeras who had undergone

[1] P. *kallolamāliṇmi va* stands quite independently of the construction of the sentence, as a kind of parenthesis. It refers to the whole procession.

[2] See note to 100. 1, Note 2.

[3] There is a village Radagoda in the Kandy District, Medapalata Korale, a village Mutugala in the Kurunegala District, Udukaha Korale West (Census 1921, II, p. 60, 328).

the ceremony of world renunciation, were some who had fear
45 of evil, respected the true doctrine, living in good moral
discipline, in pure fashion Others cherished evil, were of
46 bad moral living, followed false doctrine, took pleasure in the
maintaining of women and children and in domestic duties
and devoted themselves to unseemly professions such as astrology, medical activity[1] and the like
47 When the Ruler heard tidings of such unprincipled
(bhikkhus) he sought out[2] with care from among the pious
48 (bhikkhus) who were on the side of the high principled, the
respected sāmaṇera, named Saraṇaṃkara, who led a pure life,
dwelt in the wilderness, took pains for the furthering of the
Order of the Victor, was careful of moral discipline, virtuous,
49 well instructed, experienced in the interpretation of the words
50 of the Enlightened One With the reflection that this was the
right thing to do, the Ruler with his support, ordered according to precept, an investigation, took strong measures against
51 them and had them seriously admonished that from now onwards those who had renounced the world should for ever avoid
unseemly task, like astrology, medical activity and the like and
52 should foster[3] the study of the words of the Buddha As the
King was minded to further the Order which had fallen into
53 decay, he strengthened the influence of the high principled,
54 and in many ways gave the Order support. The Ruler was
appalled at the thought that with the lack of bhikkhus on
whom the ceremony of admission to the Order had been per-
55 formed, the pure Order of the Victor should perish on the

[1] That is the activity of the *kapurāla*, the sorceror or devil priest whose help is sought in cases of illness and for warding off the harmful influence of the planetary deities

[2] P *samma vijānitvā* cannot belong to *pacattim*, as W seems to think but must govern the following accusatives For Saraṇaṃkara cf above 97 51, 60, 98. 23, as well as note to 99 160 The Saṃgharāja died in the year 1778.

[3] The construction of the sentence is quite wrong It would be right if instead of *rakkhitum* in 52 b we had *rakkhantūti* whereby vv 51 and 52 a b would be characterised as oratio recta.

whole island, and with the reflection: if a Ruler like myself
carries on the government in the island of Laṅkā, then the 56
Order of the Victor ought not to perish, — further with the
reflection: the furtherance of the Order which was not at-
tained in the time of former rulers in spite of their sending 57
hither and thither for bhikkhus, this will I now bring to pass,
the Ruler of men, the Monarch, rich in merit, since he de- 58
sired a long continuance of the Order of the great Seer, when 59
the year two thousand two hundred and ninety-three after
the final nirvana of the Prince of the wise[1] had come — sent
messengers to whom he gave besides gifts of many kinds and 60
many sacrificial articles, a splendid royal letter, to the superb
town of Ayojjhā[2], to fetch hither sons of the Buddha. In 61
this wise the Ruler of Laṅkā who was minded to purify the
Order of Buddha, began the furtherance of the Order of the
Prince among victors.

The dignitaries took the royal letter and the rest and 62
started with great ceremony and with great zeal on their way.
With the Olanda people who were entrusted with the pro- 63
tection of Laṅkā, they embarked and sailed to the land of
Sāminda. When the town of Ayojjhā was reached the Ruler 64
of men in that country accepted the royal letter and the rest,
as was the custom. In best fashion the prudent one showed 65
the dignitaries the honour befitting them and took note of
the excellent royal letter. When the Ruler of men Dhammika 66
by name, who striving after the dignity of a Buddha, fulfilled
the ten pāramīs[3] and took the Order under his protection,

[1] = 1749 A. D. What is meant is the time of the close of the embassies to Siam which had already begun under Kittisiri's predecessor Vijayarājasīha. We have an interesting account of these embassies by a member: "An Account of Kirti Sri's Embassy to Siam in 1672 Saka, 1750 A. D., published by P. E. Pieris in JRAS. C. B. xviii, nr. 54, 1903, p. 17 ff. I see no reason to doubt the genuine character of the document. The relations established by the coming of the bhikkhus from Siam are potent in their influence even to-day. The Siamese sect is the wealthiest and the most influential in the island of Ceylon. For the vicissitudes experienced by these embassies see Pieris 3, p. 71, 73, 75 ff.

[2] See note to 98. 91. [3] See for this note to 37. 180.

67 heard the news of the decline of the Order of the Victor in
Lankā, and of the other (evils) he was most deeply moved
68 The Ruler thought "I will be a helper in order to achieve
there the furtherance of the Order of the Enlightened One"
69 He summoned the Saṃgharaja in the Sāminda country and
many other well instructed Grand theras, versed in the doctrine
and acquainted with the rules of the Order, who had for a
70 long time renounced the world, who were capable of carrying
out the business of the Order and took counsel with them
71 carefully about the matter He called together a Chapter
consisting of a group of ten (bhikkhus), an abode of virtues,
easily satisfied and content, dowered with the virtues of a life
of piety and discipline, and besides the Thera Upali as head
72 These the Ruler who was well inclined to the Great king on
the island of Lankā — like to King Vessantara[1] — sent[2] to
73 Lankā, to the splendid relic temple of the Victor and (with
them) books on the doctrine and on monastic discipline which
74 did not exist in the island of Lankā, further a golden image
(of the Buddha) and a superb golden book, a magnificent royal
letter, gifts of various kinds and dignitaries of the King of
75 Ayojjhā (as envoys)[3] The great vessel[4] which after the golden
image and the other gifts had been put in order, was sent off
came without disaster over the sea[5] rich in perils, hiding many
76 a disaster, to the fair, splendid island of Lankā and reached
77 the harbour of Tikouamāla[6] When the Great king, the Ruler
of Lankā had tidings of this, he had all the inhabitants of

[1] The last human incarnation of the Bodhisatta cf Vessantarajataka (Nr 547 VI 479 ff in Fausboll's edition).

[2] All the accusatives in vv 71 74 are governed by *apesesi*, to those in v 71 must be added the gerund *nimantayitvāna* The gifts, among them the golden image, are enumerated in the narrative quoted above (note to v 53). The number of the theras with Upali at their head, is however given as twenty-one with eight samaneras in addition

[3] Three in number according to the narrative

[4] The subject *nāvā* in 75 c is repeated with *mahānāvā* in 76 d The language in the whole section is extremely careless.

[5] P *gambhīre* used substantively and supplemented by *samudde*

[6] I e Trincomalee

the town of Sirivaḍḍhana called together. In joyful faith the 78
Ruler of men celebrated a great feast. From the sea as far
as superb Sirivaḍḍhanapura he had the road put in order and 79
rest-houses[1] erected at various places. Then the Ruler sent forth
the Mahāsenāpati and other dignitaries and made them fetch 80
in the right order the golden image and the sacred books,
the bhikkhu community and everything else. When with great 81
pomp and great ceremony they making their way had reached
the vicinity of the Mahāvālukagaṅgā which comes down from 82
the Sumanakūṭa, the Ruler of the town Sirivaḍḍhana, the Ruler 83
of men desirous of gaining the reward accruing from the festive
reception of the three sacred objects[2], the highly famed Great
king intent on merit, went forth with the army in piety to meet 84
them with elephants, steeds and so forth. He showed reverence
to the august Grand thera and to the others and at the same 85
time greeted the great community. Having exchanged with
them in the best way possible the customary speeches of wel-
come, he came with the three sacred objects at the head, to 86
his town. In the fair Pupphārāma[3], in a graceful brick-roofed
building erected by him, in this decorated monastery he made 87
the august community of monks take up their abode. Then
he provided them in fitting manner with the necessaries and 88
charged officials to enquire day by day after their health or
ill-health. The Ruler of men accepted the splendid royal letter 89
sent by the King of Ayojjhā and he made the royal envoys who 90
had arrived and the other officials take up their abode in a
fitting place and showed them all the distinction to which they
were entitled. In the year two thousand two hundred and 91
ninety-six after the final nirvana of the Enlightened One[4],

[1] P. *ārāme*, thus buildings which were specially intended for the sojourn of the monks.

[2] In the train of the envoys from Siam there were 1) a golden figure of the Buddha (*Buddha*), 2) sacred books (*dhamma*) and 3) the bhikkhus with Upāli at the head (*saṃgha*).

[3] "Flower monastery" the now so-called Malvatu-vihāra situated immediately on the lake of Kandy.

[4] = 1752 A. D.

92 in the month Āsalha[1] when it was full moon, the all-powerful
93 Great king, dowered with vast royal power, betook himself
to the monastery He had seats carefully spread in the middle
94 of the fine Uposatha house contained therein Then he invited
the Grand thera Upali, dowered with the quality of a life
led in moral discipline, experienced in all clever methods, who
95 had his pleasure in the welfare of all beings, and second to
him the Thera Āriyamuni[2] together with the (rest of the)
community and bade them be seated Then with the cele-
96 bration of a great festival the Ruler of men, the Ruler of
Laṅkā, made these perform on the most distinguished of the
sāmaṇeras of Laṅkā the ceremony of admission to the Order
97 From that time onwards he was wont to fetch hither
sāmaṇeras and others who were versed in the linguistic text-
books on the sacred scriptures, and have performed on them
98 the ceremony of admission to the Order In the same way
he sought out rightly all those who were worthy of the
ceremony of world renunciation and of admission to the sublime
99 Order of the Enlightened One and had the ceremony of world
renunciation and of admission performed on them according to
precept Among the bhikkhu communities who thus had become
100 numerous in Laṅkā, he again sought out those bhikkhus who
were full of lasting zeal in preserving the study of the sacred
scriptures and of the rules of monastic life and who were
101 qualified for and worthy of the position of a teacher, and
charged them to take instruction from the brethren of the
Order who had come from Ayojjhā Now among those high
principled bhikkhus who carried out the commands of the
102 Victor, there was one who[3] had long been at pains to make

[1] The month June July

[2] In the narrative (p 34) quoted above (note to v 59) the Grand thera Āriyamuni is mentioned as second to Upali

[3] All the relative sentences beginning with *yo* in vv 102 107 refer to *tam* in v 107 c. This part of the long-winded sentence is but loosely connected with the preceding which ends with *niyojiya* If we might alter *niyojiya* into *niyojayi* and put a full stop after it, the construction of the sentence would be all right.

lustrous the Order of the Sage which for a long time had
been on the verge of ruin in Laṅkā, — who in accordance 103
with his insight, as far as possible untiringly, day and night,
made lustrous the sacred scriptures of the Prince of the wise
and his rules for monastic life — who also instructed as dis- 104
ciples many others in the sacred scriptures and the rules for
monastic life and thus in worthy manner brought splendour
to the Order, — who striving for his own salvation and that 105
of others, with the wish to obtain long continuance for the
Order of the Sage, ever took pleasure in a pure life, — who 106
as regards virtue, discipline and devotion to duty was as a
mirror for all the sons of the Victor in Laṅkā who were intent
on their salvation, — who during the time that he was a 107
sāmaṇera was called Saraṇaṃkara: this son of the Victor living
in pious discipline now that he had been admitted to the 108
Order, he (the King) invested with the dignity of a Saṃ-
gharāja[1]. Amongst the bhikkhus who had joined him, he
sought out in both monasteries[2] such as were skilled and well
versed in the carrying out of the duties of the Order of the 109
Master and assigned them positions of rank. Explaining to
them: ye all who live out the doctrine of the Victor, should 110
act in harmony, day and night unweariedly, in accordance with
the rule of the Order and *according to the sacred scriptures*,
the Ruler showed them much favour and in this wise made 111
the Order lustrous so that it should continue for long in Laṅkā.

The royal envoys too, arrived from the Sāminda country, 112
and the others sought out the King, handing over to him the
royal letter and the other gifts. The Great king, the Ruler 113
of Laṅkā, accepted everything, and after the Monarch had
made a close inspection of the superb royal document he highly 114
pleased, had favours conferred on them. Now the Ruler who
for his own good, the good of others and the good of the
Order, had again and again performed meritorious works, who 115

[1] See above note to 99. 150 and to 100. 69.

[2] In the Malvatu and the Asgiriya-vihāras in Kandy, which are the seats of the two mahānāyakas, the heads of the Church of Ceylon.

was devoted to the true doctrine, a light of the Order, greatly
116 wise was wont to visit the monastery and to test in every
way in the midst of the community, the means for long continuance of the Order. As he wished to make lustrous the
117 Order, he invited in fitting manner the Grand thera Upāli
and listened with believing heart from the Dīgha-Nikāya, the
118 Saṃyutta-Nikāya, the Saddhammasaṃgaha and from various
other books, the (sections on the) tenfold royal duties and the
119 four heart-winning qualities. To faith awakened, of deep
discernment, he thus learned to distinguish between what ought
and what ought not to be done, between what is meritorious
action and what is sin, what is blameworthy and what is not
120 blameworthy, and he left undone all things which should not
be done, which are sinful and blameworthy, and strove as
best he could after the things which ought to be done and
121 are not blameworthy. Almsgiving and other meritorious works
he performed day by day, and after he had had the whole
122 town decorated as formerly he full of reverence invited the
dignitaries who had come from Ayojjhā and all the people of
Lankā, the Grand thera (Upāli) with the other bhikkhus (from
123 Sāminda) as well as the bhikkhus from Lankā, the sāmaṇeras
and all the others, and celebrating as formerly with royal
124 ornaments and all kinds of other sacrificial gifts a great festival
he exhibited the Tooth Relic for the salvation, blessing and
happiness of them all.

125 Since the royal envoys wished to do reverence to the
Mahiyaṅgaṇa-cetiya and the other cetiya places, he sent them
126 in the company of Lankā officials, to the various places, let
them as they desired, perform their devotions and sent them
127 home after showing them to the utmost befitting favours. In
the same way giving them sacrificial articles and appointing
officials (charged with their care), he enabled the bhikkhu
128 community with Upāli at the head, to visit the sixteen sacred
places[1] in Lankā, Mahiyangaṇa and so forth, as well as the

[1] According to W. these were: 1) Mahiyangaṇa, 2) Nāgadīpa, 3) Kalyāṇī, 4) Samantakūṭa, 5) Divāguhā, 6) Dīghavāpi, 7) Mutiyaṅgaṇa,

cetiyas in Sirivaḍḍhana and other towns. Then he had sacred 129
boundaries[1] fixed, and intent on the good of the bhikkhus,
Uposatha houses and dwellings erected here and there. Devoted 130
in faith to the bhikkhu community he had in three years
monasteries founded and made bhikkhu communities take up
their abode in them. In the periods of the rainy season[2] he 131
provided the fitting maintenance, listened to the sermon of
the true doctrine and kept the uposatha fasts. When the 132
bhikkhus were presented[3] with the various necessaries he gave
them in addition to the otherwise customary robes[4], kaṭhina
robes[5]. In the course of these three years he had the cere- 133
mony of admission to the Order performed on seven hundred
persons in the august community, and for three thousand sons 134
of good families he caused the granting of the ceremony of
world renunciation as sāmaṇeras for the good of mankind.

For the good of the world the King, the Ruler of men, 135
effected the furtherance of the Order: for that reason must
all gracious Brahmas, Suras and Asuras grant the Monarch
happiness and long life!

In the year that bears the name of Sūkara the Ruler of 136
men Dhammika the sage, who had helped so much to further
the Order in Laṅkā, since he strove after the dignity of a
Buddha, sent once more from the town Ayojjhā a group of 137

(in Badulla), 8) Tissamahāvihāra (Tissamahārāma in Mahāgāma, Rohaṇa) 9) the Bodhi tree, 10) Maricavaṭṭi-cetiya, 11) Ratanavāluka (Mahāthūpa), 12) Thūpārāma, 13) Abhayagiri, 14) Jetavana, 15) Selacetiya (9 to 15 in Anurādhapura), 16) Kājaragāma (Rohaṇa).

[1] P. *kāretvā baddhasīmāyo*, lit. "he had fixed boundaries made". The expression *sīmaṃ bandh* is used for the fixing of the territorial boundaries of a monastery which was carried out with particular ceremonies (Mhvs. 15. 131 ff.; 78. 61 ff).

[2] P. *antovassesu*. That is the rainy period lasting three or four months which the bhikkhu along with his companions, must spend in a settled abode (in the monastery).

[3] P. *pavāritesu*. What is meant is the Pavāraṇā ceremony held at the end of the rainy season.

[4] P. *parivāracīvarehi*. *Parivāra* here has the sense of "ingredient accessories" (PTS. P. D. s. v.).

[5] See note to 41. 48.

more than ten priests with two theras at the head — the Grand thera Visuddhācariya[1], who was an abode for the virtue of a life lived in discipline, whose ornament were faith and
138 the other virtues, who was a mine of virtue, and the capable,
139 learned second thera Varañāṇamuni — to Laṅkā for the further-
140 ance of the Order in Laṅkā. When this community arrived the highly famed King of Laṅkā accompanied them as for-
141 merly with great honours into the town, made them take up their abode in the Pupphārāma and dispensed to them daily regular food and everything else as formerly

142 After accumulating a store of merit the distinguished Thera Upāli who during these three years unweariedly day and night
143 had done all that was to be done for the furtherance of the Order, was severely troubled by a disease of the nose which
144 befel him The Sihala Ruler had the best medical treatment given to the incomparable Grand thera (thus) seized by ill-
145 ness Again and again the highly famed King went to the monastery, visited the Grand thera and when he learned, his
146 heart deeply moved, that the disease was incurable he celebrated with sacrificial objects of every kind, a sacrificial festival for the Buddha and ascribed the merit of it[2] *to him (the*
147 Grand thera) When the Thera was dead the Ruler of men had the corpse with great ceremonial laid in a covering of
148 fine stuff, had many sacrificial ceremonies performed, the corpse brought to the pyre and the prescribed rites carried out and thus accumulated merit.

149 The King was aware of how helpful the Ruler of men, Dhammika, the sovereign of the Sāminda country, had been in the furtherance of the Order of the King of the wise in Laṅkā, by twice sending a pious bhikkhu community and by
150 bringing about the presence of many hundreds of *bhikkhus*, whereas formerly there had not been a single bhikkhu on the

[1] As regards the word *mahāvisuddhācariyattheraṃ* we must I think join the *mahā* with *theraṃ* in order to get the counterpart to *anutheraṃ* in 138 b.

[2] For *pattidāna* see note to 42. 50 In this case the *patti* is transferred to a dying man, not one already dead

island of Laṅkā and by sending books of every kind which 151
were lacking. He thought: "To a man like that who has 152
given me so much help I will also pay in befitting manner 153
fitting honours." He ordered ministers forth to whom he
gave a model of the Tooth of the Sage fashioned out of a
costly jewel and many varied gifts such as a likeness of the 154
Victor, a shell curved towards the right[1] and other things,
and also a splendid, specially artistic royal letter, and sent 155
with them the bhikkhu community who wished to return to
their own country (Sāminda). With great reverence all the 156
dignitaries received this and journeyed forth to the country
of Sāminda. When they arrived[2] there King Dhammika was 157
joyful in heart. He gazed to his hearts content at the likeness
of the Tooth of the Sage and at the rest, and full of joy as 158
if he had (himself) received the Tooth of the Enlightened One,
he celebrated day by day a great festival. Then when he
heard and had taken note of the many words expressed in 159
the royal letter: the transference[3] of the merit of the further-
ance of the Order and so forth, he put glad confidence in the
King of Laṅkā. He gave over (to the envoys) many books 160
which were not in Laṅkā, a beautiful likeness of the sacred
footprint[4], as sacrificial gifts for the Tooth of the Victor golden 161
canopies and umbrellas and all kinds of beautiful and splendid
presents, suitable for the royal use, as well as a royal letter 162
in which expression was given to the share in all merits as
his own admission to the Order[5] and the like, wherein the

[1] Such shells are very rare and precious. Their possessor is supposed to be exceedingly lucky. Shells of this kind are mentioned among the gifts exchanged between King Devānampiyatissa and King Asoka (Mhvs. 11. 22, 30).

[2] The acc. pl. *sampatte* is governed by *apesesi* in v. 163 c. Vv. 156-163 certainly form a most clumsy sentence.

[3] This refers to what is related in v. 146.

[4] Cf. with this the note to v. 254.

[5] I assume that *attūpasampadā* means that Dhammika belonged himself, if only for a time, to the Order, as is customary even to-day in the royal family of Siam. With this he had acquired great merit a part of which was to accrue to Kittisirirājasīha.

163 reasons for the friendly relations between the two kings found
expression, and sent all that to fair, holy Laṅkā.
164 All this the highly famed King of Laṅkā accepted. When
he beheld the books of the good doctrine and the gifts like
165 the footprint of the Sage, he rejoiced greatly and paid great
honour to the gifts. He celebrated a great festival and showed
166 them to all the people. Then when he had looked at the
royal letter and taken note of the many words expressed in
it, such as the transference of merit and the like, also the
167 friendly relations mentioned, the Ruler of the Sihalas was
filled with the highest bliss by satisfaction at the transferred
168 merit[1]. He thought: "The reward accruing from the meritorious
works like furtherance of the Order I have experienced in this
169 life, what shall one say of that which may be perfectly en-
joyed in a future existence?" In this wise the Ruler believed
170 firmly in the three sacred things. The Ruler of Laṅkā betook
himself to the monastery and heard the sermon of the true
doctrine preached by the Grand theras who had arrived the
171 second time. He charged those bhikkhus who had been ad-
mitted into the Order by the chapter of monks who had arrived
first, to take instruction from the bhikkhu chapter at whose
172 head Visuddhācariya[2] stood, and had the ceremony of admission
to the Order performed in proper fashion by those theras on
numerous sons of good family.
173 Of the bhikkhus in Laṅkā some whose ornament was
their virtue, learned with the Grand Thera by name Visuddhā-
174 cariya, absorption which is the way to nirvana; others learned
175 with the second Thera Varañāṇamuni the content of the doc-
trine and monastic rules, as well as linguistic knowledge. Thus
the King pledged the bhikkhus of Laṅkā to the study of the
176 sacred scriptures and to the practice of moral discipline and
so sheltered the Order of the Enlightened One. And the
177 bhikkhus of Laṅkā were zealous and discerning. Received into

[1] P. *pattānumodanena* stands as is shown by the preceding verse, for *patti-anumo*°.

[2] See above v. 136 ff.

the branch of those ascetics who are without wants, who have
taken upon themselves a life of discipline, unwearied, never
indolent, they made of the doctrine of the Victor a reality,
zealous by day and night, absorbed in difficult texts; and the 178
King showed them honour by the dispensing of dwellings and
the like. The chapter of bhikkhus which had come the second 179
time and wished to return to their own country he sent away
with Olanda merchants. On a firmly fixed rock situated on 180
a beautiful spot not too far to the east of the town of Siri-
vaḍḍhana he had hewn out by skilful workers, masons and 181
others a splendid standing image of the Victor nine cubits[1]
high and he had the radiant, shining stone image overlaid 182
with gold plates so that it resembled the living Sage. Round 183
about this Buddha statue he had erected a lofty, massive,
beautiful stone wall and superb stone pillars placed and a 184
splendid, beautiful two-storeyed temple built fair to look at,
as well as a roomy court, outer walls, maṇḍapas and so forth 185
set up in the best way. Then he put thereon canopies and
curtains of all kinds of coloured stuffs. Round about he placed 186
arches one after another and provided them in every way
with much ornament. Here and there he set up various flags 187
and pennons and on the day of the sacrificial festival of the
eyes[2] he lit a row of lamps, placed filled jars (about) and 188
carried out in blameless fashion the various customs prescribed
for festivals. To the people who supplied the coloured paint- 189
ings, he dispensed abundantly robes, ornaments and the like
and satisfied their wishes in every way. Then he made the 190
splendid loud clang of the musical instruments, like shell
trumpets, kettledrums and so forth resound, like the roar of
the wide sea, and under a good constellation, at a good hour, 191
on a good day determined as favourable he put in the eyes
and celebrated a great festival. Numerous silver bowls and 192
many silver vessels, costly necessaries and valuable monks'

[1] I. e. 13—14 ft.

[2] What is meant is the putting in of the eyes in the Buddha statue which always took place with quite special ceremonies.

193 robes, banners, white umbrellas, shields, fly-whisks and fans —
194 all these and other fair objects of sacrifice the Ruler offered,
mindful of the reward accruing from a sacrifice to the Buddha,
with the thought that it was as if it took place in the pre-
195 sence of the still living Prince of the wise, with a heart full
of the joy of faith, intent on merit. Many and manifold foods
196 also such as sweet dishes, rice, solid dishes and others, sugar,
honey, betel, lime, camphor and so forth, also remedies and
197 perfumes of every kind like sandal[1] and the like, beautiful
flowers, like jasmine, campaka blossoms and others — all these
198 and other objects of sacrifice he offered in pious fashion. The
makers of the Buddha image and the other people he rejoiced
by an offering of many animate and inanimate things, elephants,
199 cattle, buffaloes and so forth. If one reckons the sums spent
in the making of the Buddha statue and the other offerings
200 on the occasion of this vihara festival according to their
money value, the result was sixteen thousand one hundred
and fifty (kahāpaṇas).
201 The large, beautiful vihara, well worth seeing, which is
known as Gangarama because it was built on a fair spot near
202 the Mahāvalukagaṅgā was founded by the King under the
203 name of Rajamahavihara. This vihāra, thus superbly furnished
with glory and splendour, was also destroyed by the enemy[2]
204 who had penetrated into the town. The king had it in the
best way restored to its original condition, and just as he had
205 held a solemn ceremony at the former eye festival, so (now)
he held another eye festival. After the Ruler of men had
dispensed in great abundance to the painters and so forth
206 garments, ornaments and other articles and had sacrificed
with many sacrificial gifts, he erected near by a fair monastery

[1] I think *sarvagandha* should be taken in this sense like the corresponding Skr. word.

[2] Thus we learn here that all these festivities described in the foregoing took place before the capture of Kandy by van Eck in 1765, that on this occasion the Gaṅgārāma founded by the King was also destroyed but as related in the following, restored after the destruction of the Dutch expedition when the change of name possibly took place

for the community and made a chapter of bhikkhus who 207
devoted themselves with lasting zeal to the study and the ful-
filment of moral duties, take up their abode there, providing 208
them in every way with what was necessary. Then by hold-
ing in the way described formerly, full of reverence for the
Triad of the jewels, a sacrificial festival for the Buddha, and 209
at the same time sacrificing to the chapter of the bhikkhus,
he increased the fulness of merit for himself and the laity.

Now in order that this beautiful fair vihāra, worthy to 210
be seen, that was erected in this manner, and all the numerous
sacrificial ceremonies inaugurated there and the many meri- 211
torious works such as the offerings to the community – should
be continued for a long time in the right way, the Ruler
determined a village situated near the vihāra by name Arup- 212
pala, and many other villages and fields, and gardens also,
as well as the large, populous village by name Udakagāma[1] 213
in the district of Māyādhanu and granted them (to the mo-
nastery). And the King confirmed this in perpetuity by 214
having an inscription graven on the beautiful mountain (in
the stone).

In this way the King of kings dowered with splendid 215
virtues, since he realised the worthlessness of acquired wealth, in his piety had sacrificial festivals celebrated for the Buddha and sacrificial festivals for the community of the excellent sons of the Victor and so performed perpetually all valuable, meritorious works[2]. Therefore should ye all also perpetually perform without wearying, meritorious works.

In the fair, splendid suburb by name Kuṇḍasālā, the Ruler 216
of men had erected in a charming garden a vihāra fair to
look on, supplied in the best way possible with outer walls 217
and maṇḍapas, and brought thither relics and images of the

[1] Now Diyagama. Three villages of this name might be the one in question: 1) Diyagama in the Kalutara District, Vaddubadda; 2) Diyagama in the Magul Otota Korale, Kurunegala; 3) Diyagama in Deyaladahamuna Pattuva, Kegalla (Census 1921, II, p. 48, 282, 514).

[2] Lit. "the full value of meritorious action" (*sāraṃ* in contrast to *asāraṃ* in a).

218 Sage Then he dedicated (to the vihāra) the garden that was
adorned with bread-fruit trees, mango trees, cocopalms and
other fruit trees, as well as many fields and villages and people
219 for the service of the monastery, and celebrated, intent on
merit, day by day all sacrificial *ceremonies*, such as *offerings*
of food and the like

220 The wicked king known by the name of Rājasiha in the
town of Sitāvaka[1] who had committed parricide and destroyed
the Order of the Victor, as he could not distinguish what it
221 was right to do, had adopted a false faith, was devoted to
the adherents of the false faith and ordered them to take for
themselves the income accruing from the worship of the sacred
222 footprint of the Enlightened One on the Sumanakūṭa From
that time onwards the adherents of the false faith destroyed
223 everything there When the highly famed Great king heard
of these things he realised, reverently devoted to the En-
224 lightened One, that this was unseemly He commanded the
adherents of the false faith from now onwards not to do so,
and charged the sons of the Buddha to carry out in the right
225 way the many sacrificial ceremonies which should be performed
there He dedicated the flourishing, populous, large village
226 named Kuṭṭapiṭi to the sacred footprint and to shield it from
the heat of the sun, he erected above it a maṇḍapa with cur-
227 tains, adorned with an umbrella on the point, fastened it with
iron chains and accumulated much good by the celebration
of sacrificial ceremonies But the income accruing therefrom
he assigned to the Order

228 In this manner did our happy, sublime[2] Sihala Ruler in
the knowledge that *what that deluded king had done*, because
he knew not the virtues of the sublime Sage — was unseemly,
put away all the wrong and by entrusting the spotless bhikkhu
community of the sublime sons of the Buddha therewith, he

[1] Cf for this 93 3 ff especially v 12 Line 220 a agrees in wording with the line 93 6 a.

[2] Note that in this strophe the word *pavara* occurs in each of the four lines

celebrated a ceremonial festival for the Buddha which granted
sublime immortality.

The Majjhavela-vihāra[1] built by the ruler, King Vaṭṭa- 229
gāmaṇī, which had fallen into decay, and the cetiya belonging 230
to the vihāra he had rebuilt in the finest way and granted
it the village called Siṅgatthala[2] that had been long separated
from it. Day by day he celebrated there in the right way a 231
sacrificial ceremony and so smoothed the road to heaven which
he would have to tread in the future.

To the Dutiyasela-vihāra[3] the Ruler of men granted the 232
village by name Ratanadoṇi[4], having learnt from the record
of a stone inscription that it had formerly belonged to it but 233
had been severed from it, and he the highly famed, intent on
merit, celebrated a sacrificial festival.

For the restoration of the Majjhapalli-vihāra[5] the Ruler 234
conferred distinction on the bhikkhu Saṃgharakkhita in pious
fashion. He caused a great recumbent image (of the Buddha) 235
to be made and finally he had a great festival celebrated there
and the festival of the eyes held. In order also to perform 236
the (customary) sacrificial ceremonies he dedicated the village
called Mālāgāma[6] (to the monastery) and had a sacrificial
festival celebrated daily according to rule. To the sāmaṇera 237
called Siddhattha the Ruler granted the large Rajata-vihāra[7]
erected by King Duṭṭhagāmaṇī when inspired[8] by the wish 238

[1] W.: Medavela-vihāra.

[2] Probably Singagoda, Kinigoda Korale, Kegalla District (Census 1921, II, p. 514).

[3] W.: Devanagala-vihāra.

[4] Perhaps Ruvandeniya, Galboda Korale, Kegalla District (Census 1921, II, p. 520).

[5] W.: Meddepola-vihāra.

[6] The Census 1921, II, p. 298, 368 mentions a village Malagamuva and another Malgomuva. Both are situated in the Kurunegala District, the first in the Galboda Egoda Korale, the second in the Medapattu Korale East. The latter seems to be meant here.

[7] See note to 99. 41.

[8] P. *patthetvā āyatena* is a composite verb formed after the Sinhalese model (*geṇenavā, geṇāvā*).

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adorned with bread-fruit trees, mango trees, cocopalms and
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224 lightened One, that this was unseemly He commanded the
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225 way the many sacrificial ceremonies which should be performed
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227 tains, adorned with an umbrella on the point, fastened it with
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for the august position of a chief disciple of Metteya[1], the
239 King of the wise After the Ruler of Lankā had caused the
ceremony of admission to the Order to be performed on him,
he granted this bhikkhu and all the sons of the Victor dwelling in the Uposathārāma rank and showed them favour in
240 every way Then in order to restore this vihāra which had
long been in the state of a ruined house, the Ruler of men
241 in Lanka assigned it divers artisans, painters and others, as
well as much fine gold wherewith to gild the Buddha images,
242 and all handiwork and so forth That prince among ascetics
— Siddhattha — accepted all this and removed in the best
243 possible way everything that had been destroyed by age He
had a lofty, massive stone wall and a fine plaster floor built
244 in the house, and outside a maṇḍapa, as well as (a picture)
the figure of the Buddha in combat with Māra above on the
rock face Then when he had caused creeper work of flowers
245 to be applied in the best manner possible and had caused a
vast image of the recumbent Buddha to be fashioned out of
good bricks, lime and clay and also many sitting and standing
246 images of the Victor, he had represented in the best way
possible in painting on the beautiful inner wall, enlightened
247 ones like Muhuttamuni[2], a thousand in number And at the
foot of the vast statue of the recumbent Buddha he had placed
248 one after the other beautiful images, that of the Buddha's
constant servant and protector of the true doctrine[3] — Ānanda,
that of the Bodhisatta Metteya, that of the sublime patron
249 deity (Viṣṇu), and that of King Gāmaṇi He overlaid the five
250 great images of the Buddha with gold, and when he had thus
in every possible way finished the works which were to be

[1] Metteyya is the future Buddha Each Buddha has two pre-eminent disciples ascribed to him (*aggasāvaka*) Those of the historical Buddha were Sāriputta and Moggallāna

[2] I do not know who is meant here W omits the name in his translation

[3] *Saddhammarakkhino* refers to Ānanda. It is he who according to Vin II. 287, was questioned as to the *dhamma*, by Mahākassapa at the first Council

made in the inside (of the shrine), he had pourtrayed also outside on the wall a series of glorious figures of gods and Brahma figures with flowers in their hands, which looked as 251
if they had appeared for worship. Then too he caused a great, beautiful triumphal arch to be made, well worth seeing, further 252
two lion figures on either side of the portal and in the empty interstices of the wall figures of demons. Also he had pictures 253
pourtrayed in coloured painting of the sixteen holy places[1], Mahiyaṅgaṇa and the others, further of the famous foot-print 254
on the Saccabaddha mountain[2], of the ten pāramīs[3], of the three forms of (right) action[4], as well as of many jātakas in which subjects like the five great renunciations[5] are treated of. In the maṇḍapa he had all kinds of figures introduced, 255
series of lions, series of elephants, series of geese and creeper work of flowers. In the delightful cave above in the same rock 256
he built a vast image house, well worth seeing, splendid, beautiful with many sculptures fashioned to perfection and so forth. 257
There he had a beautiful, vast, life-like sitting Buddha made — splendid was this figure and fair to look at — and on either 258
side well fashioned, upright standing statues of the Bodhisatta 259
Metteyya and of the lotus-hued god[6]. He also caused many other figures to be set up: figures of sages, figures of many 260
hundreds of the perfect[7], the four and twenty Buddhas, the

[1] See note to 100. 128.

[2] This is a sacred mountain in Siam, called Saccabandhana in the narrative (p. 31) mentioned above (Note to 100. 59). There was a footprint of the Buddha on it which had come there miraculously. King Dhammika had sent a model of this footprint along with other gifts to the King of Laṅkā.

[3] See note to 37. 180.

[4] P. *tidhā cariyaṃ*. The three forms are *lokatthacariyā*, *ñātatthacariyā* and *buddhicariyā* "action for the advantage of the world, for the advantage of one's kinsfolk and for one's (own) enlightenment." See DhCo. III. 441^{10}.

[5] P. *pañcamahāpariccāgā*. The surrender of the five precious possessions, the wife, the children, the royal dignity, life, limbs. DhCo. l. c. Childers, PD. s. v. *pariccāga*.

[6] See note to 83. 49.

[7] P. *asekkha* "he who no longer undergoes training", synonymous with *arahant*.

261 whole of the Bodhi trees in the same number, the four and twenty intimations[1], the sixteen holy places, fair forms of spiritual beings and others, the five great Councils[2] and yet
262 divers other beautiful pictures well worth seeing Then he
263 brought thither relics of the Sage and had a cetiya erected, adorned with a golden finial In the image house itself he
264 had placed on the lofty vaulted[3] ceiling a sitting figure of the Sage surrounded by his five hundred followers, Sāriputta
265 at the head In the court he had walls and maṇḍapas erected at different places, as well as several gate-buildings and here
266 and there stairs and other fine buildings, partly the restoration of much that had suffered by age, partly also many new (buildings)

267 All these fine structures the King dedicated (to the mo-
268 nastery) at the festival of the eyes by dignitaries whom he had sent[4], and in addition clothing, ornaments and much else He had rows of various triumphal arches without gaps put
269 up, placed on them the necessary ornament, gave orders for
270 the sacred ceremonies and while celebrating in worthy fashion a great rite, he carried out the festival of the eyes under a lucky star and at a favourable hour

[1] *Each of the 24 Buddhas who according to the legend, precede the* historical Buddha — they are enumerated Mhvs 1 5 ff — has his special sacred tree under which he attains enlightenment To each in a former existence on a particular occasion a Buddha gives the intimation (*vyakarana*) that he too shall in time attain the dignity of a Buddha

[2] The Mahavamsa 3 4 and 5 268 ff gives an account of the three first Councils (*dhammasaṃgīti*) in Rājagaha Vesali and Pāṭaliputta Of the two other Councils the one is the Church reform under Parakkama bahu I (Mhvs 78 1 ff) the other perhaps that under Parakkamabahu II (Mhvs 84 7 ff) We get an idea of what the representation of such a council might have looked like from a fresco from Qyzil near Kutscha (Central Asia) the subject of which is the first Council See A von Le Coq and E Waldschmidt Die buddhistische Spätantike in Mittel asien VI p 79 und Tafel 14

[3] P *uddhaṃ pabbhāra m uttame* Very likely a picture on the *ceiling*

[4] The construction of the sentence is quite irregular It seems to me, however that *pesite 'n acce* is acc pl which like the preceding accusatives is made to depend on *datvāna*

From that time onwards there came hither many in-
habitants of the whole kingdom from all quarters, like the 271
sea when it overflows the land. When all the people who
had gathered there beheld the many golden and other works 272
of art which had been carried out, there their hearts were
filled with joy, as if they saw the Enlightened One at the
miracle of the double appearances[1]. In joyful and high spirits 273
they celebrated amid cries of Hail! a great festival and thus
paved their way to Heaven. At that festival he invited the 274
bhikkhu community of the vihāra, had seats prepared in the
inner room of the vihāra, made bhikkhus who were preach- 275
ers of the true doctrine sit down thereon, and had the
Mahāmaṅgalasutta[2] and other sacred texts worth hearing re- 276
cited by them and thus celebrated in worthy manner a sacri-
ficial festival of the doctrine[3]. All the people who saw and 277
heard this, in that they at one and the same time beheld the
Enlightened One[4] and heard the true doctrine, were filled 278
daily in every possible way with the highest joy and ecstasy,
as if by a sermon of the living Sage. Thus he made manifest 279
both: the beauty of his form and the charm of his sermon.

Outside in the court he placed pillars of stone, erected a
maṇḍapa, spread seats therein and after establishing the great 280
multitudes gathered round the maṇḍapa *in the five major and*
other commandments relating to moral discipline, he made 281
them listen daily to abundant texts. Full of reverence he[5]
also invited the preachers of the doctrine to preach the doctrine
repeatedly during the three watches of the night.

[1] The *yamakaṃ pāṭiheraṃ* is often mentioned, as is the case in the ancient Mahāvaṃsa (See my translation, note to 17. 44; cf. DhCo. III, p. 199 ff.; Samantapāsādikā, ed. Takakusu I, p. 88 ff).

[2] In the Suttanipāta, Cūlavagga, Sutta 4 (ed. by Dines Andersen and Helmer Smith, p. 46).

[3] P. *dhammapūjā.* The *dhamma* itself is the *pūjāvatthu*, the "object of sacrifice", because the sacred texts are recited.

[4] I. e. the images of the Buddha in the Rajata-vihāra.

[5] The subject from v. 274 onwards is throughout the King. W. quite unnecessarily takes Siddhattha (see v. 238) as the subject of *nimantiya* in 281 b.

282 In the year two thousand three hundred and one after the
final nirvana of the Enlightened One[1] he had the vihāra called
283 Rajata restored and the great festival celebrated He then
thought of repairing the splendid cetiya erected on a clear,
284 fine large slab of rock to the south of the vihāra but which
was so dilapidated that it resembled a heap of dust Therefore
he had fetched from all quarters lime, bricks, stones and so
285 forth Hereupon he had a fine, square throne built of stone
in the best possible manner whereon he placed a relic of the
286 sublime Enlightened One At the restoration of the cetiya,
he erected on a neighbouring, particularly beautiful piece
of land for the community whom he invited thither in
287 fitting manner for the purpose, setting up a marked out
boundary, a monastery with an Uposatha house and other
288 (buildings) provided with a brick roof and so forth On the
land round about he laid out beautifully a large park adorned
with divers blossoming trees, with divers blossoming creepers,
289 with divers fruit trees and the like, and where there were
many bathing-ponds And full of zeal as he was, he piously
made the sons of the Victor dwell there and devote themselves
to study and religious exercises
290 In such wise was the place restored by royal power, visited (in days of yore) by great saints and honoured by the
291 former rulers of Lankā. When the highly famed King heard
thereof he fixed the boundary of the vihāra solemnly in the
292 same way (as before), performed there all the solemn ceremonies, arranged in still more abundant measure (than before)
for an almsgiving to the community and the like and laid up
293 a store of merit Near the Dohala mountain[2] adorned with
rows of trees like pūga, punnāga, nāga[3] and others, resound-
294 ing with the sweet twitter of all kinds of birds, provided
with cool, spotless white stone slabs, enlivened with herds of
295 divers animals, there was in the fair monastery situated there

[1] I e 1757 A D
[2] Mentioned in 44 56 See note to the passage.
[3] For the tree names cf 73 98 74 204, 79 3

which bore the name of Sūkara[1], an image house of the Victor, erected by a dignitary who was charged therewith
by the King. There the councillor Suvaṇṇagāma setting up 296
stone pillars, built an Uposatha house and dedicated it to
the sons of the Sage. He also had supplies of wood collected 297
for pillars and the like and numerous dwellings built there.
To the bhikkhus to whom dwellings had been assigned there, 298
the Lord of men devoted many villages, fields and so on for
the provision of what was necessary. After that Ruler of men 299
had caused all this to be brought about he kindly dedicated it to that prince of ascetics, Dhammarakkhita.

After the Ruler of men had in such wise stored up divers 300
kinds of merit he passed in the thirty-fifth year of his reign from this world thither in accordance with his deeds.

When one reflects on the worthlessness of wealth and of the 301
life of the flesh one utterly rejects the yearning thereafter. Ye also, revering the Triad of the sacred things, ought to perform good works such as spiritual exertions and the like[2].

Here ends the hundredth chapter, called «The History of Kittisirirājasīha», in the Mahāvaṃsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

[1] The Col. Ed. reads *sūkarāvāṭanāmamhi* instead of the *sūkaravhayanāmamhi* of my MSS. W. gives Varāvaḷa as the modern name of the monastery.

[2] The whole of the hundredth chapter has the character of a supplement to chapter 99 and treats especially of the services of the King to the Church. It repeatedly alludes to events which have been touched upon in the foregoing (cf. 98. 91 with the note to 100. 59, also the note to 100. 203). I have already pointed out (note to 99. 53) that Tibbotuvave's contribution to the Cūlavaṃsa (see note to 99. 76) which deals with the reign of Kittisirirājasīha is composed in praise of this king and completed during his lifetime. This is the case too with the greater part of the hundredth chapter. Here too in v. 228 we meet with the expression *amhākaṃ Sīhalindo* and the benediction in v. 135 sounds as if it were addressed to a living person. At the end however Kittisiri's death is mentioned. The last part of the hundredth chapter must thus have been added later, whether by Tibbotuvave himself or by another author. The break cannot be fixed with certainty, it might possibly be at v. 228.

CHAPTER CI

SUPPLEMENT[1]

1 On his death, his younger brother Sirirājādhirājasiha[2]
2 received consecration as king in Lankā After attaining his
consecration as king, he devoted himself with pious joy to
the Triad of the Jewels, zealous in listening to the true doc-
3 trine, unwearied, discerning The Ruler of men continued, as
formerly without abatement that furtherance of the laity and
4 the Order which his brother had carried out The highly famed
offered meat and drink and so on as before to the sublime Tooth
5 Relic without depriving it of anything He commanded that
the regular almsgiving which had been established for the
sons of the Victor should be given to them in the order in-
6 troduced by the (former) king The bhikkhus who with the Thera
Upali at their head had arrived from Samuddа, came to the
7 town of Sirivaddhana Here those bhikkhus who had come from
there, with the Thera Upāli at their head, established a sacred
boundary to the south of the town in the so-called Kusumā-
8 rāma[3], according to the natthidutiya process[4] When he saw

[1] Chapter 101 of the Mhvs has been composed and added to their edition of the chronicle (1877) by H Sumangala and Batuwantudawa See Malalasekera, Pali Literature p 142 No MS however of those which I could examine reaches beyond v 292 of ch 100, and I do not know on which authority the vv 100 293—301 are based.

[2] Reigned 1780 1798 (cf v 18) It was during the reign of Rājādhirājasiha that the capitulation of Colombo took place (15th Feb, 1796) and with that the passing of the dominion from the Dutch to the British Cf Pieris 3, p 142 ff Codrington, HC, p 133 ff

[3] Synonym for Puppharama 100 86, 141, now the Malvatu vihara.

[4] This is a particular form of a *samghakamma* or ecclesiastical act. See Vin II 89[3] and 91[27] (= Cullav 4 14 2 and 11)

that the Uposatha house built formerly by King Kittisiri, was
decayed, the Ruler of men who was intent on merit, first of 9
all raised the ground on all sides and then by the adding of 10
still more stones he put up the walls inside the boundary.
He put up stone pillars and so built the Uposatha house 11
which the Ruler made over[1] to the community from the four
regions of the heavens.
The King was acquainted with various literary works, works 12
in Pāli and Sanskrit, he rejoiced in the continuous giving of
alms, was in form like the god of love[2]. As expert in the 13
text books relating to language he made a poem in the Sīhala
tongue out of the Asadisajātaka[3] and had it written down.
With a heart full of faith he reverenced[4] the Tooth Relic in 14
faith with a hundred thousand lamps which he had lit in a
single night. Hearing of the great merits of a kaṭhina offer- 15
ing over all gifts of alms, he every year presented kaṭhina[5]
robes to the community. He had an image of the Aṅgirasa[6] 16
made in bronze in the proportions of the King and since he
strove after the dignity of a Buddha, he erected in the 17
monastery called Gaṅgārāma which was held to be pious, a
graceful cetiya well worth seeing.

[1] The description of the building is obscure. V. 9 seems to refer to the securing of the whole base, v. 10 to the laying down of a walled terrace and v. 11 a b to the building of the house itself.

[2] P. *makaraddhaja* = skr. *makaradhvaja* "whose badge is the makara, the dolphin".

[3] Jātaka nr. 181 in Fausböll II. p. 86 ff.

[4] I believe that here we should read *sammānesi* instead of *samānesi* as the meaning of the latter can hardly be harmonized with *dāṭhādhātuṃ*. The instr. *dīpasatasahassena* would also not fall within the construction of the sentence. We must, it is true, put up with a slight disturbance of the metre, when reading *sammānesi*.

[5] See note to 44. 48.

[6] Aṅgiras in the Rigveda is the designation of "beings half gods half men who act as intermediaries between the two, as sons of Heaven, as ancestors of men, as those who impart to mankind the gifts of the gods" (Grassmann). The expression *aṅgirasa* is already used of Buddha, Therag. 1252 (quoted S. I. 196). Cf. also A. III, 239^{25}; Jā. V. 144^{1}.

18 After the Ruler had accumulated these and other merits
he passed after an eighteen years' reign from this world in
accordance with his deeds.
19 The sister's son of Rājādhirājasīha, the Lord *of men*,
Sirivikkamarājasīha[1], the discerning ruler of the country
20 hearkened to the doctrine preached by the Victor. The Ruler
found pleasure therein and sacrificed to the sacred Tooth Relic
21 jewels, pearls and other (valuables) and many villages and
fields. To the community whose head is the Buddha, he
22 dispensed often delicious foods and so strove after eternal
happiness. These and other merits the Ruler accumulated.
23 But as he indulged in intercourse with impious people he
changed (for the worse). He had the chief councillors, the
24 great dignitaries and many other officials gathered together
and destroyed his subjects like a devil. He had the people,
25 many hundreds in number, brought to different spots and had
them impaled, merciless as death. Much wealth that had
26 come to the people by inheritance, the King had confiscated
like a thief that robs villages. And because the Ruler com-
27 mitted in this way many evil deeds the Sīhalas and the in-
habitants of the town of Colombo[2] rebelled. They all came
28 hither, captured the criminal king alive when the eighteenth
year after his consecration had passed, and brought him to
29 the opposite coast[3]. After they had brought the King, the
torturer of his people, to the opposite coast the Ingirīsi by
name seized the whole kingdom.

End of the Mahāvaṃsa

May there be prosperity!

[1] Reigned 1798-1815. For the rise of the British power in Ceylon during the reign of this king and for the reign itself see CODRINGTON, HC. p. 155 ff., where also on p. 160 f., 182 there is a list of the bibliography of the subject.

[2] This means the British.

[3] I. e. To the Indian mainland.

Genealogical Tables

A The Oldest Part of the Mahāvaṃsa

I

From Vijaya to Asela

Sīhabāhu

1. Vijaya — Sumitta

Sumitta

|

2. Paṇḍuvāsudeva

3. Abhaya and 9 brothers — Ummādacittā × Dīghagāmaṇī

Ummādacittā × Dīghagāmaṇī

|

4. Paṇḍukābhaya

|

6. Muṭasiva

7. Devānaṃpiyatissa — 8. Uttiya — 9. Mahāsiva — 10. Sūratissa — 13. Asela

Asela's predecessors are the Damiḷa usurpers Sena and Guttika (11, 12), his successor is Eḷāra (14).

18 After the Ruler had accumulated these and other merits
he passed after an eighteen years' reign from this world in
accordance with his deeds
19 The sister's son of Rajādhirājasiha, the Lord of men,
Sirivikkamarājasiha[1], the discerning ruler of the country
20 hearkened to the doctrine preached by the Victor The Ruler
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26 come to the people by inheritance, the King had confiscated
like a thief that robs villages And because the Ruler com-
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habitants of the town of Colombo[2] rebelled They all came
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year after his consecration had passed, and brought him to
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End of the Mahāvaṃsa

May there be prosperity!

[1] Reigned 1798 1815 For the rise of the British power in Ceylon during the reign of this king and for the reign itself see Codrington HC p 155 ff where also on p 169 f 183 there is a list of the bibliography of the subject

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Genealogical Tables

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- Sīhabāhu
  - 1. Vijaya
  - Sumitta
    - 2. Paṇḍuvāsudeva
      - 3. Abhaya and 9 brothers
      - Ummādacittā × Dīghagāmaṇī
        - 4. Paṇḍukābhaya
          - 6. Muṭasiva
            - 7. Devānampiyatissa
            - 8. Uttiya
            - 9. Mahāsiva
            - 10. Sūratissa
            - 13. Asela

Asela's predecessors are the Damiḷa usurpers Sena and Guttika (11, 12), his successor is Eḷāra (14).

II

Duṭṭhagāmaṇī,

his descent and his successors

- 6 Muṭasiva
  - 7. Devānampiyatissa
  - Mahānāga, 3rd son of Muṭasiva
    - Yaṭṭhālāyakatissa
      - Goṭhābhaya
        - Kākavaṇṇatissa × Vihāradevī
          - 15 Duṭṭhagāmaṇī
          - 16 Saddhatissa
            - 18 Lañjatissa
            - 17 Thūlathana
            - 19 Khallāṭanāga
            - 20 Vaṭṭagāmaṇi

Vaṭṭagāmaṇī's reign was interrupted by that of five Damila usurpers (21—25)

III

From Mahācūḷīmahātissa to Yasalālakatissa

16. Saddhātissa

19. Khallāṭanāga — 20. Vaṭṭagāmaṇī

26. Mahācūḷīmahātissa — 27. Coranāga × Anulā

28. Tissa — 30. Kuṭakaṇṇatissa

31. Bhātikābhaya — 32. Mahādāṭhikamahānāga

33. Āmaṇḍagāmaṇī — 34. Kaṇirajānutissa

35. Cūlābhaya — 36. Sīvalī — daughter

37. Iḷanāga

38. Candamukhasīva — 39. Yasalālakatissa

The successors of Tissa (27) are the paramours of Queen Anulā 1. Siva, 2. Vaṭuka, 3. Dārubhatikatissa, 4. Niliya and Anulā herself (29). — Yasalālakatissa's successor is the usurper Subharāja (40).

IV

From Vasabha to Mahāsena

1

41 Vasabha, a Lambakaṇṇa
│
42 Vaṅkanāsikatissa
│
43 Gajabāhukagāmaṇi

2

44 Mahallanāga
father in law of 43

45 Bhātikatissa — 46 Kaniṭṭhatissa

47 Khujjanāga — 48 Kuñcanāga

3

49 Siriṇāga I
brother of the consort of 48

50 Vohārikatissa — 51 Abhayanāga
│
52 Siriṇāga II
│
53 Vijayakumāra

4.

54 Saṃghatissa, a Lambakaṇṇa
55 Sirisaṃghabodhi, „
56 Goṭhābhaya, „

57 Jeṭṭhatissa — 58 Mahāsena

B The Oldest Part of the Cūlavaṃsa

See Cūlavaṃsa trsl. I, p. 351–358.

C The Later Parts of the Cūlavaṃsa

I

From Kittinissaṅka to Coḍagaṅga

Kāliṅga Prince

81. Kittinissaṅka = Nissaṅkamalla | 83. Vikkamabāhu III. | daughter

82. Vīrabāhu I. (son of 81. Kittinissaṅka)

84. Coḍagaṅga (son of the daughter)

II

From Vijayabāhu III. to Parakkamabāhu IV.

93. Vijayabāhu III.

94. Parakkamabāhu II. | Bhuvanekabāhu 81. 68 | daughter

95. Vijayabāhu IV. 90. 1 | 96. Bhuvanekabāhu I.[1] 90. 4 (sons of 94. Parakkamabāhu II.)

Vīrabāhu 83. 11, 87. 15 (son of the daughter)

97. Parakkamabāhu III. 90. 49 (son of 95. Vijayabāhu IV.)

98. Bhuvanekabāhu II. 90. 59 (son of 96. Bhuvanekabāhu I.)

99. Parakkamabāhu IV. 90. 64 (son of 98. Bhuvanekabāhu II.)

[1] Other sons of Parakkamabāhu II. are Tilokamalla, Parakkamabāhu and Jayabāhu (87. 16 f.)

IV

From Vasabha to Mahāsena

1.

41. Vasabha, a Lambakaṇṇa
    - 42 Vaṅkanāsikatissa
        - 43 Gajabāhukagāmaṇī

2.

44 Mahallanāga
father-in-law of 43

- 45 Bhātikatissa
- 46. Kaniṭṭhatissa
    - 47 Khujjanāga
    - 48 Kuñcanāga

3.

49. Sirināga I.
brother of the consort of 48

- 50. Vohārikatissa
    - 52 Sirināga II
        - 53 Vijayakumāra
- 51. Abhayanāga

4.

54 Saṃghatissa, a Lambakaṇṇa
55 Sirisaṃghabodhi, „
56 Goṭhābhaya, „

- 57 Jeṭṭhatissa
- 58 Mahāsena

B The Oldest Part of the Cūlavaṃsa

See Cūlavaṃsa trsl. I, p. 351 – 358.

C The Later Parts of the Cūlavaṃsa

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[1] Other sons of Parakkamabāhu II. are Tilokamalla, Parakkamabāhu and Jayabāhu (87. 16 f.)

III

The family of Alagakkonāra

A

- Alagakonnāra = Alakesvara 91 3
  - Kumāra Alakesvara
- Arthanāyaka
- daughter
  - Vīra Alakesvara (Vījayabāhu VI) cf 91 14 note
  - Virabāhu = 106 Vīrabāhu II 91 13

IV

From Parakkamabāhu VIII. to Rājasīha I.

111 Parakkamabāhu VIII

- (Parakkamabahu IX)
- 112 Vijayabahu VI (VII)
  - 113 Bhuvanekabahu VII
    - daughter
      - (Dharmapāla)
  - Rājasiha = Rayigam bandara
  - 115 Māyādhanu
    - 116 Rājasīha I

V

From Vimaladhammasuriya I to Narindasīha

- Virasundara
  - 117 Vimaladhammasuriya I
    - Kumārasiha 95 22
    - Vijitapala 95 22
- brother
  - 118 Senaratana
    - 119 Rājasiha II 95 23, 96 3
      - 120 Vimaladhammasuriya II
        - 121 Narindasīha 97 23

VI

From Vijayarājasīha to Vikkamarājasīha

122. Vijayarājasiha brother in law of 121

123 Kittisirirājasiha brother in law of 123

124 Rājādhirājasīha brother of 123

Sister of 124
- 125 Vikkamarājasīha

Indices

The indices refer not only to the Cūlavaṃsa but also to my edition and translation of the old Mahāvaṃsa so that the whole chronicle is comprised within. The abbreviations are: M. ed. = The Mahāvaṃsa, edited by W. G., PTS. 1908. — M. tr. = The Mahāvaṃsa, translated by W. G., PTS. 1912. — C. ed. I = Cūlavaṃsa, being the more recent part of the Mahāvaṃsa, vol. I, PTS. 1925. — C. ed. II = the same, vol. II, PTS. 1927. — C. tr. I = Cūlavaṃsa &c., translated by W. G., vol. I, PTS. 1929. — C. tr. II = the same, vol. II, PTS. 1930.

I. List of words

II. Names of Persons

III. List of Passages

IV The Chronicle

V. The World

b) Names of tribes or castes.

2. Farther India

a) Geographical names, names of tribes

3. Ceylon

a) Physical character, climate &c.

b) Products of the island (or imported)

1. Minerals:

2. Trees and shrubs; fruits, flowers

5, 17, 45; **97.** 34; **98.** 41; **100.** 5, 218 (the shell **57.** 8). nigrodha (ficus indica) **10.** 35 f., 89; **15.** 147. nīpa (nauclea cadamba) **73.** 98. panasa (artocarpus integrifolia) **28.** 23; **79.** 3; **85.** 36; **86.** 50; **100.** 4, 218. picula (tamarix indica) **15.** 28. punnāga (rottleria tinctoria) **73.** 98, 123; **89.** 43; **100.** 1, 293. pūga (areca palm) **36.** 47; **79.** 3; **100.** 3, 293. phārusa (?) **100.** 4. bodhirukkha (ficus religiosa) see VIII, C, 3. madhu, -ūka (bassia latifolia) **34.** 56; **44.** 18; **83.** 18. muṇḍaka (?) **100.** 5. muddikā (grape) **100.** 6. rambhā (musa sapientum) **100.** 4. rājāyatana (buchanania latifolia) **1.** 52, 54, 67 f. labuja (artocarpus incisa) **90.** 87; **94.** 11 f. vakula (mimusops elengi) **73.** 99. vaṭa (ficus indica) **6.** 16. sattapaṇṇa (alstonia scholaris) **30.** 47. sannīra (king coconut tree) **74.** 204; **100.** 5, 26. sāla (shorea robusta) **3.** 2; **5.** 161; **73.** 98. sirīsa (acacia sirissa) **15.** 78. harītaka (terminalia chebula) **5.** 26; **11.** 31. hintāla (kind of palm tree) **73.** 123. Bamboo (veḷu) **11.** 10; **70.** 213. sugar-cane, sugar, molasses **34.** 62; **35.** 92; **61.** 53; **89.** 53; **100.** 196. sandal-wood **11.** 28; **58.** 9; **61.** 57; **100.** 2, 196. aloe (agaru) **61.** 57; **100.** 2. betel (tambūla) **35.** 62; **54.** 22, 46; **100.** 3, 196. garlic (lasuna) **54.** 22 f. pepper (marica, pipphalī) **25.** 114; **54.** 23. ginger (siṅgivera) **28.** 21; **54.** 23. saffron (piyaṅgu) **24.** 25. camphor (kappūra) **58.** 9; **61.** 57; **69.** 24; **89.** 43; **100.** 3, 196. liquorice (yaṭṭhimadhuka) **32.** 46. — Bean (māsa) **23.** 51. sesam (tila) **29.** 12; **34.** 56. — Cotton **57.** 56; **72.** 3; **86.** 46. — Lāja **98.** 46; **100.** 31. pāṭali (bignonia suaveolens) **73.** 98. ganṭhipuppha **30.** 59. jasmin **15.** 27; **29.** 61; **30.** 27; **73.** 99; **98.** 8; **100.** 1. lotus **19.** 18; **22.** 45, 53; **34.** 47, 53 f.; **73.** 102; **88.** 113; **100.** 1, 30 (the stalk: muḷāli **7.** 12).

3. Animals

Elephant, wild or domesticated **7.** 56; **18.** 28; **23.** 8, 47, 49; **29.** 4; **37.** 112; **41.** 23, 47 ff.; **47.** 9; **51.** 37, 43, 112 f.; **61.** 6; **70.** 219, 229, 265; **72.** 3, 88, 155, 314, 325; **76.** 48, 70; **89.** 22; **96.** 20; **99.** 46 and passim. young el.s. **62.** 22, 25. rutting el.s. **66.** 150; **72.** 321; **74.** 63; **83.** 13. solitary el.s. **72.** 248; **76.** 244. catching wild el.s. **72.** 105. el.-trainer and driver

c) Geographical and ethnographical names

1. Names of the Island

2. Names of provinces (raṭṭha) and districts (maṇḍala) (18 provinces: 86. 11)

3. Towns and villages

4. Mountains
(p. = pabbata, g. = giri)

5. Rivers, fords
(g. = gaṅgā, n. = nadī)

Names of tribes &c

VI. King and Kingdom

A. The king and the royal family

Cf. C. tr. I, Introd. p. XV ff.

1. The king (rājā, mahārāja, mahīpati, narapati &c. &c. passim). a. Sun- and Moon-dynasty **62.** 5; **63.** 11; **72.** 121; **87.** 29; **91.** 16; **93.** 2; **94.** 1; **96.** 41. Mahāsammata as ancestor **2.** 1, 23; **47.** 2; **99.** 77. Okkāka **2.** 11 f.; **45.** 38; **80.** 32. — b. Bodily marks of a king **22.** 59; **48.** 114; **57.** 49; **59.** 34 ff.; **62.** 46 ff.; **87.** 62. cakkavattin **100.** 35. — c. Abhiseka (molimangala) **7.** 46 ff., 72; **9.** 29; **10.** 78; **36.** 123; **56.** 3 f.; **59.** 2, 8; **67.** 16; **72.** 312 ff.; **87.** 70; **89.** 5 ff.; **90.** 61; **94.** 10. abh. performed twice **11.** 7 and 40 f.; **71.** 19 ff. and **72.** 311 ff. — d. The king assumes a new name **36.** 98; **44.** 128; **45.** 22; **58.** 1; **94.** 6. the biruda Sirisaṃghabodhi **44.** 83; **46.** 1; **54.** 72; **59.** 10.

2. The queen (rājinī **24.** 13 &c.). a. mahesī **7.** 47; **8.** 28; **10.** 37, 78; **22.** 7, 12, 22; **33.** 36; **37.** 211; **46.** 27; **51.** 6, 86; **55.** 8, 16; **56.** 15; **62.** 19 ff.; **97.** 2; **98.** 1; **99.** 123. two mahesīs **33.** 45-7; **59.** 25, 30; **64.** 24; (**97.** 24; **98.** 4). — devī **22.** 3; **33.** 47; **34.** 86; **35.** 21; **36.** 42, 50; **48.** 113; **55.** 10; **63.** 4, 6; **64.** 24. aggamahesī **54.** 10; **70.** 33; **94.** 9; **97.** 2, 24; **98.** 4. — b. Political marriages **7.** 52 ff.; **51.** 15 ff., 92 f.; **54.** 9 f.; **59.** 27 ff., 40 ff.; **63.** 6 ff.; **87.** 28; **97.** 24; **98.** 4.

3. The princes (rājaputta **5.** 194; **7.** 10 &c.) a. Education **64.** 3. — b. Ādipāda **41.** 34; **49.** 3; **50.** 8, 25, 46 f.; **51.** 94, 126; **52.** 4, 8, 42; **53.** 1, 4, 13, 19, 28, 39; **54.** 1, 11; **55.** 11; **57.** 4, 61; **59.** 12; **60.** 88; **61.** 2 ff. mahādipādā **44.** 136; **50.** 10, 44; **51.** 1; **58.** 7; **67.** 91. — c. Yuvarāja **42.** 6; **44.** 123, 137; **50.** 6, 21, 31; **51.** 13, 15, 18, 53 ff.; **52.** 1 f., 6, 37, 42; **53.** 1, 4, 13, 19, 28, 39; **54.** 1, 7, 58; **58.** 1; **59.** 7; **61.** 3; **63.** 42; **67.** 26; **85.** 59. — uparāja **5.** 154; **6.** 38; **9.** 12, 14; **14.** 56; **22.** 2 ff.; **41.** 93; **42.** 6; **44.** 84, 119, 124; **46.** 24; **50.** 58 f.; **51.** 7, 12, 94; **53.** 1, 4, 13, 39; **59.** 11; **60.** 40, 80, 86 f. two

B Attributes of royalty, royal life

38. 22; 67. 15; 70. 254; **72**. 118 ff.; **83**. 24; **88**. 33 f.; **89**. 31 f. (satta rajjangāni **88**. 3. rājakammāni 69. 22. rājakammikā 62. 34. paricārakā 63. 53. pañca and dasa pessiyavaggā 7. 56; 67. 58; 84. 5). — 5. Funeral rites, cremation of the members of the r. family 24. 14; 25. 72 f.; 32. 58, 79 f.; 34. 34; 36. 121; 61. 9; 67. 89; 85. 76.

C. Politics

1. Nīti, rājanīti (naya, sippa) 10. 23; 48. 80, 96; 55. 3; 58. 1; 64. 3; 70. 56; 90. 56; 99. 81. Manunīti 80. 9, 53; 83. 6; 84. 2; 96. 26. dhamma, dasa rājadhammā (dasa puññakriyā) 7. 74; 37. 107, 180; 52. 43; 70. 31; 97. 3; 99. 73, 75, 81 f.; 100. 118. saṃgahavatthūni (the four) 37. 108; 52. 43; 92. 8; 95. 2; 97. 2; 99. 14, 73, 83; 100. 118. — Support of poor subjects 52. 3; 53. 30; 60. 22, 74, 77 f.; 62. 32. of poets 60. 75, 79. — 2. Distinctions conferred upon officials 61. 19; 68. 5; 69. 30; 70. 19, 277 ff.; 96. 38. — Relations to foreign sovereigns 11. 18 ff., 27 ff.; 58. 8; 60. 5 f., 24 ff.; 62. 54; 67. 95; 76. 11 ff.; 80. 6 ff.; 87. 29; 88. 87 f.; 98. 89 ff.; 99. 109 ff., 164; 100. 63 ff., 151 ff. honours paid to foreign ambassadors 7. 70; 11. 25 f. &c. — Treaties **71**. 1 ff. — Organised espionage 66. 130 ff.; 67. 19. — Foes of the King, rebels. corā 36. 21, 80 f., 91; 37. 18; 59. 4. dāmarikā 61. 71; 74. 34 ff.; 75. 10, 34 ff.; 76. 3.

D. Brahmanism at court

1. Brahmans supported by the king 48. 23; **51**. 65 ff.; 77. 105. brahmanical rites observed at court 62. 33, 45 ff.; 63. 5; 64. 13 ff. the purohita 10. 79; 11. 26; 34. 24; 62. 28, 33, 46 (dija 11. 20, vippaseṭṭha 67. 29). care for Hindu temples 79. 19, 22, 81; 85. 85 ff.

E. The king and the Buddhist order

1. Bhikkhus as advisers of the king 42. 22; 57. 38 f.; 87. 39 ff., 62 ff.; as mediators in conflicts of the royal family

F. Administration of the kingdom

1. Officials and titles (cf. C. tr. I, p. XXV ff. and p. 359, 2). chatta mark of distinction for officials 70. 85, 122. — General expressions: adhikārin 66. 66; 70. 278, 297 f.; 72. 21, 37, 75. 122, 123, 138, 160, 207, 232, 265. adhinātha 70. 216, 278. antaraṅgadhura 69. 32, 35. amacca 4. 37; 5, 35, 239 &c.; 58. 30; 66. 72 &c. (mahāmacca 16. 10; 61. 1; 72. 96, 129 &c.; mahāmatta 72. 70, 181; mūlāmacca 69. 34). maṇḍalika, maṇḍalanāyaka 46. 31; 51. 109, 122; 54. 8; 69. 5; 70. 242, 246. mantin 66. 113; 89. 27. saciva 66. 67; 67. 90; 68. 7, 18; 70. 83, 324. sāmanta (58. 20); 61. 63; 66. 142; 69. 5, 16; 70. 9, 57, 129, 136, 179, 189, 242, 246, 314; 72. 16 ff., 50, 54, 78, 82, 165. — Special designations: asiggāha 39. 54; 42. 42; 44. 1, 43, 54, 58 ff.; 66. 29. ādipotthakin (bhaṇḍārap°, bhaṇḍāgārādhikārin) 69. 27; 72. 27, 160, 182, 196, 207. kañcukin (-nāyaka) 63. 53; 69. 26; 70. 44; 72. 58; 75. 176. kammanātha (°nāyaka) 72. 58, 206. gaṇaka (°amacca) 11. 20; 69. 30; 76. 39. chattaggāha (-nāyaka) 38. 3; 59. 16; 66. 29; 70. 60; 72. 68. jīvitapotthakin 70. 174, 318; 72. 161; 74. 90. daṇḍanātha, °nāyaka °adhināyaka) 11. 26; 70. 5, 8, 15, 19, 64, 68, 124, 279; 72. 36, 65, 162, 222. dovārika 35. 51. dhammagehakanātha 59. 16. nagaraguttika 10. 81. bhaṇḍārapotthakin, bhaṇḍāgārādhikārin see ādipotthakin. mahālekha 52. 33; 72. 1, 161, 166, 170, 182, 206. mūlapotthakin 75. 139 f. lekhaka 66. 155. sabhāpati (kuṭhārasabhānāyaka) 67. 61, 64, 70, 80. seṭṭhinātha 59. 16. senāpati (senāni, °adhināyaka, camūpati, dhajinīpati &c.) 11. 25; 15. 212; 35. 59; 50. 82; 51. 30, 40, 88; 52. 16, 28; 53. 43 ff.; 54. 13 ff., 58 ff.; 55. 2; 56. 7; 64. 9 ff., 22; 65. 13 ff., 27 ff.; 66. 2 ff.; 67. 82; 70. 123, 129 ff., 153 ff., 285; 72. 45, 49, 76, 122 f., 137 f.; 90. 12; 96. 38 (sakkasenāpati 52. 52, 61 ff., 72 ff.; 54. 53. andhasenāpati 41. 87). — Titles: kesadhātu 57. 65 ff.; 72. 2, 5, 7, 107; 76. 253 ff., 324 ff. &c. (cf. C. ed. II, p. 601, col. 2); (-nāyaka 70. 68, 279). jitagiri 72. 25. damiḷādhikārin 75. 20 ff., 69 ff.; 76. 39. nagaragiri, °galla 66. 35, 62; 70. 68, 89, 146, 199, 318; 72. 107; 76. 60. nīlagiri 70. 137, 140.

VII. The people

A Clans, castes, guilds

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B. Settlement

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C. Domestic and social life

1. The family. Terms of kinship 7. 65; 9. 16, 24, 26 f.; 10. 7, 29, 73 f., 82; 11. 20; 48. 51, 82; 51. 24; 52. 11; 57. 28; 59. 28; 61. 1; 62. 2; 63. 38, 40, 51, 53; 64. 33; 67. 16; 69. 23; 70. 266; 93. 3; 99. 1, 123. three kinds of sons 87. 18 ff. —

62. 23, 24 &c. chair, pīṭha: **27.** 39; pallaṅka **27.** 32 ff.; **31.** 76 f. sivikā **11.** 31; **32.** 7. — Carpet, mat **14.** 51; **25.** 102; **27.** 35; **34.** 54; **73.** 64; **88.** 109; **90.** 70; **98.** 46. — Lamp **25.** 101; **31.** 80; **33.** 6; **34.** 55, 77; **74.** 205; **85.** 40 f.; **89.** 43 f.; **90.** 71; **92.** 17; **99.** 62. lamp-stand **76.** 205; **89.** 23. — Mirror: ādāsa: **100.** 106; dappaṇa **89.** 21. — Charcoal-pan **60.** 70. bell **21.** 15. mill-stone (nisada) **23.** 6; **28.** 40; **30.** 9. chest (mañjūsā) **30.** 60. — parissāvana **36.** 92.

6. Measures and weights, time, money. Measures of length: yojana (cf. M. tr. p. 297, Nr. 34) **1.** 21; **5.** 23, 179, 262; **6.** 13, 35; **18.** 29; **20.** 12; **23.** 22, 26; **28.** 7, 13 ff.; **38.** 68 (note is incorrect; cf. C. tr. I, p. 349), **85.** 4; **86.** 44; **89.** 14. gāvuta **65.** 4; **73.** 154; **74.** 63; **76.** 197; **89.** 9. usabha **22.** 42; **23.** 88; **25.** 43; **85.** 4. hattha **1.** 41; **18.** 27; **25.** 43; **70.** 128; **78.** 63, 69. ratana **15.** 167; **30.** 58, 63; **72.** 235; **78.** 77; **92.** 17. vidatthi **28.** 14. aṅgula, -li **18.** 27; **28.** 14; **30.** 59. porisa **72.** 235. yaṭṭhi **78.** 63; **86.** 41. bāṇapāta **72.** 239. dhanu **35.** 31. tāla **17.** 43. — Square measures: ammaṇa **38.** 77. karīsa **10.** 30; **28.** 13; **35.** 83, 86. — measures of capacity: ammaṇa **30.** 7 ff. doṇa **15.** 167; **31.** 18; **74.** 3. nāḷī **30.** 37; **32.** 45. — weights: nikkha(la) **76.** 18; **82.** 13 f.; **100.** 14. — — Time: year (vassa, saṃvacchara passim, hāyana **41.** 3; **44.** 153 &c.). months (māsa **3.** 16; **5.** 279; **25.** 8 &c.). names of months **1.** 12, 19, 46, 73; **3.** 2; **11.** 37, 40, 42; **12.** 2; **13.** 14, 18; **16.** 2, 14; **17.** 1, 17; **18.** 7, 61 f., 64; **19.** 9; **20.** 33; **29.** 1, 14, 63; **31.** 109; **39.** 37; **41.** 80; **85.** 89; **90.** 62; **100.** 91. sukka-, kālapakkha **18.** 61 f., 64; **19.** 9; **20.** 33; **29.** 14; **31.** 109. day (divasa passim, vāsara **62.** 10, 32; **70.** 263 &c.). yāma **25.** 105; **85.** 40. — — Money: kahāpaṇa **4.** 13; **21.** 26; **25.** 100;. **30.** 14, 18; **53.** 29, 32 f.; **77.** 102; **81.** 45. gold coins **27.** 21; **48.** 7; **81.** 45; **100.** 14. silver coins **91.** 12; **97.** 6. sums of money in numbers only (to be supplied by kahāpaṇa) **6.** 24 f.; **7.** 61; **10.** 18, 24; **23.** 36 ff.; **26.** 22; **34.** 87; **35.** 64, 72; **89.** 66; **92.** 13.

7. Traffic and trade. Roads: maggānumagga **67.** 20. — footpaths **70.** 4; **72.** 240. high-roads (mahāmagga) in C. **25.** 6 ff.; **50.** 37; **58.** 41; **73.** 163; **74.** 83; **89.** 13 f. cause-

gabbha 27. 15, 28; 73. 61. kūṭāgāra 27. 15, 26; 73. 62; 78. 38, 49, 55. viṭaṅka 88. 97. sīhapañjara 27. 16, 28. chadana (72. 211); 97. 39. valabhi 88. 97 (tulāyaṭṭhi 88. 97; gopānasī 37. 141; 88. 98). — e. Pāsāda (dīgha-, cūlap° 78. 36 f., 50; 90. 90): pākāra 27. 41. kūṭāgāra, gabbhasālāghara, pañjarageha 78. 55. dvārakoṭṭhaka 27. 41. gopura 60. 12. pāsādatala 25. 98, 105; 28. 3. thūpikā 31. 13; 73. 135. siṅga 90. 66, 90. underground tunnel 55. 7. — Thūpa, cetiya (M. tr., p. 295, Nr. 26). a tree as cetiya 1. 67. thūpa "tomb" 20. 53; 37. 44. cetiya "tomb" 20. 44; 25. 73. cetiya = thūpa 29. 15; 30. 57; 86. 51 &c. dhātugabbha = thūpa 60. 56; 68. 28; 79. 14. silāmaya th° 35. 118. model of a th° 30. 11 ff. — erection of a th° 30. 15 ff. mantling of a ruined th° (kañcuka) 1. 42; 33. 23, 25; 35. 85, 121; 36. 12. — parts of a th°: foundation 29. 2–12 (maṅgaliṭṭhakā 29. 15, 46–63). moonstone 31. 61. toraṇa 38. 10. vālikaṅgaṇa, -mariyādā, cetiyaṅgaṇa 33. 31; 34. 70; 37. 60. hatthipākāra, -vedī 33. 5; 38. 10; 39. 30; 41. 95. pupphādhāna 30. 51, 56; 33. 22. pādavedikā 34. 41; 35. 2. dhātugabbha 30. 57 ff., 62 ff; 34. 49. sudhākamma 32. 1; 33. 5; 34. 46. the "tee": caturassacaya 31. 124; muddhavedī 32. 5; soṇṇathūpa 100. 263. vedikā on the tee 34. 39; 35. 2. figures of sun and moon on the tee 36. 66. thūpikā 44. 133; 76. 105; 80. 20; 87. 66. chatta 33. 5; 35. 2; 36. 24, 65; 38. 54; 44. 133. vajiracumbaṭa 36. 66; 38. 74; 41. 95. — Maṇḍapa, provisional pavillon, erected for various purposes: as a chapel 100. 227; for a sermon 98. 71 ff.; 100. 279; in connection with a pāsāda 14. 47; 27. 29 ff.; 36. 99, or with a temple 100. 185, 217, 243. ratanam° 27. 29; 37. 103. silām° 36. 102. thambhā, chatta and vedikā of a m° 27. 30 f.; 100. 226. — f. Ornamentation of the buildings (the object itself or its representation in relief or in fresco-painting): pupphapuṇṇaghaṭā 30. 90; 32. 4. strings of pearls 27. 31; 30. 66 f., or of bells 27. 16, 27; 30. 66; 73. 68. ratanapadumāni 27. 34; 30. 68. — Figures (pantī "rows") of animals 27. 30, 37; 30. 65; 100. 255, or of deities 27. 30; 30. 74 ff.; 89 ff., 92, or of sun, moon and stars 27. 33; 30. 68; 36. 66; or of sacred symbols 27. 37; 30. 65, 92;

VIII. Hindu religion and popular belief

IX. Buddhism

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5. Cult. Inauguration of a monastic building 26. 11 ff.; 36. 130. music and dance at festival occasions 5. 181; 34. 60.

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6. History of the Saṃgha. The three councils 3. 5 ff.; 4. 9 ff.; 5. 228 ff. Buddhist sects 5. 1 ff. (cf. M. tr., p. 276 ff.). theravāda, ācariyavāda 5. 2; 37. 227; 52. 46; 54. 46 f. &c. vibhajjavāda 5. 271 f. mahāsaṃghikā 5. 4; 59. 68. — Schisms in C. 33. 95 ff.; 37. 2 ff. — church-reforms see VI, E, 5. — tayo nikāyā 41. 97 and N.; 44. 131; 45. 16; 46. 16; 48. 73; 51. 14,

Cf. catupaccayā, aṭṭhaparikkhārā, ticīvara, chacīvara in IX, C, 2; kaṭhina in IX, C, 4. salākabhatta (cf. salākagga IX, C, 3); 27. 11; 34. 64; 48. 73. — medicaments 22. 30, 37; 60. 70; 98. 10; 100. 3, 196. — flowers, perfumes, incense 15. 27 f.; 22. 30, 37; 30. 27; 85. 70, 83; 90. 73; 92. 16; 97. 29; 98. 8 ff., 64, 75; 99. 56; 100. 3, 33, 197. — valuables, gold, jewels &c. 17. 62; 36. 125 f.; 61. 56; 85. 121; 97. 28; 98. 11, 33, 53; 99. 37; 100. 9, 31 f. — elephants, horses, cattle, buffalos 90. 76; 92. 29; 98. 33; 99. 37; 100. 42. — slaves, male and female 46. 10, 20; 80. 36, 40; 90. 76; 100. 11. — lamps and oil 32. 41; 92. 16 f.; 98. 75; 100. 33. lamp-feasts, illuminations 32. 37; 35. 79; 76. 119; 85. 40 f., 70 f., 84, 116; 86. 31; 98. 60 ff., 84). — Festival processions in honour of a sanctuary see VII, C, 10. Covering of a thūpa with costly stuffs 33. 10 f.; 34. 42, 46 ff., 74; 44. 44; 54. 37, 42. — Donations of land, tanks and fields 34. 63; 35. 83, 117 f., 120; 36. 3; 85. 120 f.; 88. 52; 90. 76 &c. maintenance villages (bhogagāma) 46. 14 f.; 49. 21, 26 ff.; 52. 46; 53. 31; 60. 66 ff., 72 f.; 61. 54; 84. 3 ff.; 85. 58; 90. 87, 97 &c. — Ceremonies connected with donations 15. 25; 26. 18; 27. 46. — Pilgrimages 66. 136; 80. 24; 85. 118; 86. 1, 9 ff.; 88. 48; 92. 15–8; 97. 16, 27 ff.; 99. 36 ff.; 100. 125 ff. the sixteen sacred places in C. 1. 77 ff.; 100. 128, 253. the sacred foot-print on the summit of the Samanakūṭa 1. 77; 60. 64; 85. 118 ff.; 86. 10, 28 ff.; 88. 48; 97. 18; 98. 84; 100. 221 ff. the same in Siam 100. 160, 253.

Additions and Corrections

I. Mahāvaṃsa ed.

2. 11. Put; after Okkākā, and read pavuttā instead of paputtā.
4. 30 d. Read: taṃpakkhagābiṃ.
5. 169. Put comma insteed of full stop at the end of the verse.
5. 170. Read: tassa tassa and put full stop after *nāmato*. Pāda c begins Yācitvā.
19. 3 c. Read: seṇīnaṃ.
19. 70 d. Read: vidū.
23. 11 c. Read: sahoḍhaṃ.
33. 8 c. Read: Velaṅgaviṭṭhikaṃ.
35. 11 a. Read: sahoḍhe.
35. 13 a. Read: Goṇakanadītīre.
35. 113 a. Read: Goṇanadiyā.
36. 7 c. Read: Ratanapāsādaṃ (proper noun).
37. 45 b. Expunge the comma after so.
p. 337, col. 2, line 30. Read Kukkuṭārāmo, a monastery in I. 5. 122; in C. 37. 15.
p. 339, col. 2, line 10. Add Goṇakanadī 35. 13, 113.
p. 344, col. 1, line 29. Add 14. 14 after Paṭhamo thūpo.
p. 349, col. 1, line 20. Add Ratanapāsādo, a building in A. 36. 7.
p. 350, col. 1, line 25. Add Vattaniya, a monastery in I. 29. 10.
p. 350, col. 1, line 11. Read: a monastery in I. (instead of C.).
p. 353, col. 2. Expunge the last article Honakanadī.
p. 356, line 19. Read: sahoḍhaṃ gavhati cf. skr. sahoḍha.

II. Cūlavaṃsa ed. I

37\. 79. Put the whole verse between marks of suspension. It is a parenthesis.
37\. 103. Put: after ratanamaṇḍapaṃ.
37\. 114 d. Read: »nāgo rogīti nicchayaṃ.«
37\. 202 ab. We have probably to read: cātuddasiṃ pañcadasiṃ yā ca pakkhassa aṭṭhamī.
37\. 206 b. Read: coraṃ rattiyaṃ, uggate &c.
38\. 3 b. Read: chattagāhakajantuno.
38\. 29 cd. Read: cuto, putto Parindo pi, tatiye tassa bhātuko &c.
38\. 60 d. Read: attanā instead of attano.
38\. 65. I propose to read: Akāsi paṭimāgehe Bahumaṅgalacetiye | bodhisatte ca, tatthāpi Kālaselassa satthuno &c.
38\. 77 b. Read: kaṃsalohajaṃ.
38\. 79 cd. Read: ko hi nāma samattho? ti mukhamattaṃ nidassitaṃ.
38\. 88 c. Read: rājakule.
41\. 82 cd. Read: gahetvā khipi; tih' evaṃ aṅgulīhi sa taṃ chupi.
41\. 89 b. Expunge the comma after vasaṃ.
41\. 96 b. Read: Uttare instead of uttare.
44\. 51 b. Add the note: °vihārakaṃ all MSS. and Ed.
44\. 56 b. Read Janapadaṃ (it is proper noun).
44\. 90 b. Read: sakkā hantuṃ ti dārakaṃ«.
44\. 123 c. Read: 'parajjhitvā.
47\. 66. Read p. 89[2]: tatth' eva.
48\. 20 d. We have probably to read: pubbavuttito instead of -no.
49\. 17 d—18. Read: paṭimāyo ca kārayi || pāsāde cetiye c' eva &c. with full stop after anappake.
49\. 78 d. Expunge the full stop after avalokiya.
49\. 81 b. Expunge the comma after sādhukaṃ.
50\. 34 a b. Read: Pāsāde Ratane sabbasovaṇṇaṃ satthubimbakaṃ.
50\. 48 d. Read: 'samo instead of samo.

51. 88 d. Read: Kuṭṭhaka° instead of Tuṭṭhaka°.
54. 57 a. Read: taṃ rājaṃ.
56. 6 c. Read: Devanagaraṃ (*it is proper noun*).
59. 2 a. Read: »Abhisekamaṅgalatthaṃ pāsādādiṃ &c.
59. 49 b. Read: Sundarivhaṃ.
61. 4 d. Read: 'khilā instead of khilā.
61. 36 a. We have probably to read: Ariyadesīso.
61. 51 c, Note. Read: *thā instead of ṭhā.*
61. 53 d. Read: 'khīṇatosā instead of khīṇa°.
65. 6 c. Read: Paṭiladdha°.
66. 26 c. Read: kumāraṃ.
66. 56 a. Perhaps we should read: Nānābhassarasaññussa.
66. 59 *d.* *I propose to read* ten' ato *instead of* te tato.
66. 80 d. Read: Ranamburaṃ.
66. 143 a. Read: °opāya° instead of °opaya°.
70. 54 a. Read: Rājaraṭṭhaṃ (*it is proper noun*).
70. 98 d. Read: Ambavanaṃ instead of Ambu°.
70. 103 a. Read: Janapadaṃ.
70. 112 *d.* Read: gaṅgāpasse instead of Gaṅgā°.
70. 120 a. Read: gaṅgājalaṃ instead of Gaṅgā°.
70. 181 c. Read: vasī karitasaṃdhāno.
72. 58 a. Read: Ārakkha° instead of ārakkha°.
72. 106 d. Expunge »« before and after sāvadhāranaṃ.
72. 121-2. Put: at the end of v. 121 and » before Bil-lavhayamhi.
72. 127 b. Expunge » before sakalārātivāhinī.
72. 170 d. Read: Kālavāpiyaṃ.

III. Cūlavaṃsa ed. II.

Introd. p. III, l. 6. Read: anxious.
73. 96 *cd.* Read: nayanā nandanādaṃ.
73. 145 d. Expunge the comma after natthitaṃ.
74. 46 a. Read: Rājaraṭṭhaṃ.
74. 64 d. Read: na dassāmāti sabbathā« &c.
74. 149 c. Expunge » before yasmiṃ.
74. 150 c. Put » before cātuddisikādīnānaṃ.

74. 206 d. Read: maggāmaggavicakkhaṇo.
75. 24 b. Read: yuddhakilantakaṃ.
76. 124 c. Read: So Kañcakuḍiya°.
76. 130 a. Read: So Kañcakuḍiya°.
76. 157 a. Read: Damiḷe neke.
76. 190 b. Read: °pperūmāḷaṃ.
76. 192–3. Read: vissutaṃ || etth' antare &c.
76. 223 a. Read: °pperūmāḷo.
76. 232 a. Read: °pperūmāḷe.
76. 316 a. Read: Vīrapperayaraṃ.
77. 52 b. Read: jhāpetvā.
78. 38 d. Put; at the end of the verse.
78. 39 b. Expunge; after akkhirasāyanaṃ.
80. 33 d. Read: Sarājakulavaḍḍhano.
80. 37 c. Read: Khandhāvara°.
80. 39 b. Read: Sarājakulavaḍḍhanaṃ.
82. 37 a b. Read: passanto › bhagavā ñāṇacakkhunā tesu maṃ pi ca &c.
85. 56 a. Read: mahāvihāraṃ, not Mahā°.
86. 17 d. Read: taṃtaṃpuññakriyāsu.
86. 18 b. Read: Gaṅgāsiripuraṃ.
88. 22 b. Read: dakkhiṇasmiṃ disantare.
90. 82 b. Expunge the comma after tadanantaraṃ.
91. 24 d. Read: Sunettapariveṇakaṃ.
91. 25 c d. Put comma after pūjetvā and expunge it after tapassinaṃ.
93. 7 a. Read: tassa dhammaṃ instead of tass' adhammaṃ.
97. 18 a. Read: °kūṭācala°.
98. 61 a. Expunge « after karontū and insert it after ekāhe va.
98. 95 d. Expunge the full stop after ṭhito.
99. 29 d. Expunge the comma after so.
99. 80 d. Read: yāv' etarahi.
99. 89 d. Read: parikkhārāni.
99. 107 b. Read: Laṅkaṃ.
100. 15 d. Put comma after narādhipo.
100. 16 b. Expunge the comma after varaṃ.

100. 44 a. Insert; after so.
101. 14 c. Read: sammānesi.
p. 601, col. 1, ult. Read: 73. 62, 114; 78. 77; 89. 15.
p. 609, col. 2, Devanagara. Add: 56. 6.
p. 612, col. 1, line 29. Add: Pajjunna, the Hindu rain-god 85. 44.
p. 612, col. 2, line 13. Add: Paṇḍiyāṇḍāra, a D. chief 76. 173.
p. 613, col. 2, line 12. Expunge 18 and insert 88. 18 on the following line after 87. 16.
p. 620, col. 1, Mahāvālukagaṅgā. Add: 78. 28.
p. 623, col. 2, line 4 from below: Ratanāvalicetiya. Add: 80. 20; a thūpa in Khīragāma 79. 71.
p. 624, col. 1. Expunge the article Rājakulavaḍḍhana.
p. 624, col. 1, Rājaraṭṭha. Add: 74. 46.
p. 630, col. 1. After Sarassatīmaṇḍapa insert the article Sarājakulavaḍḍhana, a pariveṇa built by Āyasmanta 80. 39 (cf. 80. 33).
p. 632, col. 2. Add after Sudhammā the article: Sunetrapariveṇa, a monastic building erected by Parakkamabāhu VI. 91. 24.
p. 632, col. 2. Expunge the article Sunārī and add after Sundarapabbata: Sundarī, a Kāliṅga princess 59. 49.
p. 642, line 31. Add: **tithima*, s. m.; the moon 95. 17. — Cf. skr. *tithipraṇī*.
p. 644, line 4. Add: **dhani*, s. m. sound, noise 99. 60. skr. *dhvani*, Ch., Abhp. 128.
p. 650, line 19. Add: **rakkhin*, adj., protecting, guarding; *saddhamma°* 100. 218. — skr. *rakṣin*.
p. 652, line 5. Add: **tipphuliṅga*, s. n. a spark of fire 72. 81; 75. 110; 95. 14. — skr. *tiṣphuliṅga*, Ch., Abhp. 35.
p. 654, line 27. Add: **sāhicca*, s. n. art of poetry 82. 3. — skr. *sāhitya*.
p. 657. To make agree this list of kings with that in C. tr. II, Introduction expunge the separate numbers 90 and 92 of Līlāvatī's second and third reign, and then read 90 instead of 91, and 91, 92, 93 &c. up to 125 instead of 93, 94 &c. up to 127.

IV. Mahāvaṃsa, tr.

Introd. p. XXXVI ff. Wickremasinghe's Chronological Table of Ceylon kings in EZ. III, p. 4 ff. differs somewhat from my list of kings. As nr. 5 he adds after Paṇḍukābhaya the name of Gaṇatissa which does not occur in the Mhvs., and therefore nrs. 6–28 in W.'s list correspond to 5–27 of my list. Instead of nrs. 28–32 Wickr. has only nr. 29 Anulā, omitting the names of the paramours of this queen. Nrs. 30–58 correspond to 33–61 of my list. In Cūlavaṃsa trsl. II, Introduction I accepted Wickr.'s table.

2. 11. Translate the verse thus: and sixteen even unto Okkāka. These (kings) who are mentioned in groups reigned in due order, each one in his capital — and add the note: We must with the Ṭīkā read *pavuttā* instead of *paputtā*.

5. 69. The note 4 on page 31 is indeed misleading (Wickremasinghe EZ. II, p. 276). Read thus: *Upajjhāyassa.* Every novice on his entrance into the order chooses an *upajjhāya* "spiritual preceptor" and an *ācariya* "teacher". The former instructs him in the rules of the monkish life, the latter in the study of the holy scriptures. In his relation to the upajjhāya the novice is called *saddhivihārika*, and *antevāsika* in his relation to the ācariya.

5. 139. Read: after it had been perfumed, instead of for better care thereof.

7. 43. Page 58, note 3 read Malvatu-oya inst. of Malvaṭṭe-oya.

9. 23. Read Citta instead of Cittā.

10. 53. The note 1 on page 72 is wrong: Read thus: According to v. 62 foll. not far from the Kacchakatittha (see note to v. 58), on the right bank of the Mahaveliganga. The Dhūmarakkhapabbata is also mentioned Mah. 37. 213. It is identical with the Dimbulāgala (anciently Udumbaragiri, cf. Cūlav. tr. II, p. 102, note to 78. 5), the so-called "Gunner's Quoin". H. Storey, Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register III, p. 229).

10. 90. To Yonas add the note: See E. R. Ayrton, Ceylon Notes and Queries I, Oct. 1913, p. VIII.

11. 10 ff. As to *yaṭṭhi* Professor N. Law (letter of 3 rd April 1930) calls my attention to skr. *yaṣṭi* in the meaning "necklace", occurring in the Kauṭalīya Arthaśāstra 2. 11. 29 (p. 76 of Shama Sastri's edition). Accordingly we should translate thus:

(10) At the foot of the Chāta mountain there appeared[1]) three cane-like necklaces of the size of a chariot whip. (11) Of them one was a creeper-necklace of bright silver: on this might be seen brilliant delightful creepers of golden colour[2]). (12) One was a flower-necklace[3]): on this again might be seen flowers of many kinds, of manifold colours, in full bloom. (13) At last, one was a bird-necklace[4]) whereon might be seen numbers of birds and beasts of various colours, as if they were living.

Notes: [1]) P. *jata*. — [2]) Perhaps *suvaṇṇapaṇṇā* "with golden leaves". — [3]) P. *kusumayaṭṭhi*, commonly called *puspahāra*, a string made of golden flowers. — [4]) I. e. a necklace formed by a string of birds made of gold and other precious metals. Cf. also the description of the various necklaces in the Kauṭalīya 1. 1.

11. 22. Here we should translate: Those three kinds of precious stones and the three chariot-like[1]) necklaces &c &c. — with Note [1]): Refers to *rathapatodena samānā parimāṇato* in v. 10.

11. 26. Read: the rank of general, instead of the rank of staff-bearer — and add the note: In *daṇḍanayaka* the word *daṇḍa* means "army", and *nayaka* "leader". Cf. Cūlav. tr. I, p. XXVI.

15. 1 (p. 96, N. 2). The note should run thus: I. e. "the discourse of the fool and the wise man" = Majjhima, Nr. 129 (III. 163).

15. 38 (p. 100, l. 12). Read mango-fruit instead of mango-tree.

17. 31 (p. 118, l. 25–6). Read: was covered with kadamba-puppha- and ūdāri-creepers — and add in note 3 after This creeper: (skr. *kadambapuṣpā*; the name seems to prove that the flowers of this creeper remind those of the kadamba-tree).

19. 73, 75 (p. 134, l. 11 and 17). Read Kadambapuppha-thicket.

22. 7. Expungé in note 3 the words: Tradition seems &c., and add: Cf. on Yatahalena H. C. P. Bell, Kégalla-District, p. 35–6.

24. 22 (p. 165, N. 5). The note should run thus: According to local tradition the battle took place near Yudagannava 1½ miles NNW. of Buttala. The spot is marked by a thūpa (now in ruins).

24. 39. To came to a vihāra (p. 167, l. 18) add the note: According to popular tradition this vihāra was that of Okkampitiya, about five miles East of Buttala.

25. 48 (p. 173, l. 28). Read: surrounded by a kadambapuppha-thicket.

25. 99 (p. 177, l. 16). Read: sitting on the throne, instead of in the royal chamber.

30. 84 (p. 206, note 2). Add: Cf. Suttanipāta 976 foll.

32. 40 (p. 224, N. 2). *Jāla-pūva* means "net-cake". I was told in Ceylon that even now cakes of a peculiar shape are prepared there for which such a denomination would be befitting.

33. 43 (p. 232, l. 6) Read: 'The great black Sīhala is fleeing'.

33. 85 (p. 235, l. 22). Read: concealed herself in a kadamba-puppha-thicket.

35. 104 (p. 254, l. 6). Read: in a kadambapuppha-thicket.

35. 116 (p. 255, l. 2). Read: on the place of the kadamba-puppha-thicket.

36. 6. Add to note 1, p. 256: In Sinhalese inscriptions he is called Maḷu Tissa. See H. C. P. Bell, ASC. 1896, p. 47–8.

p. 274, l. 12. Read: Sum. I, p. 258 ff.

p. 288, l. 12. Read: south-east of Anurādhapura, instead of south-west of A.

p. 289, l. 31—290, l. 2. (See above note on 10. 53). The passage should be corrected thus: Its position is shown clearly by Mah. 10. 53, 57, 58. We must look for it on the right bank of the Mahaveliganga, not far from the Kacchaka-ford. It is the Dimbulāgala rook, the s[illegible] l "Gunner's Quoin", as Mr. H. Storey has shown.

V. Cūlavaṃsa, tr. I

Introd p XXII, l 7 To *bhāgineyya* add the note Mr A M HOCART, C J Sc II, p 34, refers to the part played by *the sister's son* in Ancient Germany, according to Tacitus, Germania 20 Sororum filiis idem apud avunculum qui apud patrem honor Quidam sanctiorem artioremque hunc nexum sanguinis arbitrantur "The sister's son is in as great honour with the uncle as with the father Some consider this tie of blood more sacred and closer"

Introd p XXV, line 9 Add the note The *inscriptions* of King Nissanka Malla's 'Council Chamber" in Polonnaruva supply us with useful information as to the highest officials and the constituent members of the royal council at the time of that king At the king's right hand there sat 1) the *mahādipāda* (p XVIII), 2) the *ādipādas* (p XVI), 3) the *senāpati* (p XXVI), 4) the *adhikārins* (p XXV), 5) the Chief secretary (*mahālekha*, p XXVIII), — and on his left side 1) the Governors of the provinces (*maṇḍalika*, p XXV f), 2) the eighty-four chiefs of smaller districts (*sāmanta*, p XXV), 3) the heads of the merchants (*seṭṭhin*) The number 84 exactly corresponds to the 84 *sāmanta* appointed by Parakkamabāhu in Dakkhiṇadesa (Mhvs 69 16) See H W. CODRINGTON, JRAS C Br XXIX, Nr 77, 1924, p 304 ff, the same, HC p 68

37 175 (p 16, N 5) The identification of Mahādhammakathin with *Ta-mo-kiu-ti* is doubtful as *-kiu-ti* would correspond to a *-gutta* rather than to a *-kathin*

P 17, 18, 19, 20 top Read Upatissa I instead of Upatissa II.

37 213 (p 22, N 4) Read right bank, instead of left bank

38 68 (p 36, N 4) Add at the end of the note: It is however probable that in the Mahāvaṃsa not the Buddhist *yojana*, but the common Indian *yojana* is meant which has the double length See PARKER, Ancient Ceylon, p 255 f

P. 52, top Read Upatissa II instead of Upatissa III

41. 89 (p. 60, N. 5). Add at the end of the note: But we may also take *vasaṃ* as part. pres. and assume that the sentence extends to v. 92 with *pūhesi* as finite verb.

42. 67 (p. 73, N. 2). Add in the note: Cf. note to 70. 286 and 312.

48. 66 (p. 116, N. 4). Add in line 8 of the note after °*ychāni*: (Cf. C. J. Sc. G. I, p. 145 ff.).

56. 6. The translation should run thus: he thought it not the time to carry on war and came suddenly into the company of the gods when he just had visited (the town of) Devanagara.

59. 7. The translation is not precise enough. It should run thus: After the wise (prince), that best of men, had held the position of a yuvarāja seventeen years he caused (this number of years) to be written down (in the annals). — Add the note: *Sattarasavassāni* refers as adverbiale to *yuvarājapadaṃ sito santo* and is at the same time object of *likhāpayi*.

60. 64 (p. 220, N. 2). On line 13 of the note read thus: The Jambukola-vihāra is the monastery erected by Devānampiyatissa at the landing place Jambukola (Mhvs. 20. 25) and Jambukolalena the Dambul monastery 26 miles N. of Matale with its celebrated rock temple.

VI. Cūlavaṃsa, tr. II

74. 151. My translation of the verse is wrong. It is based on a reading cātuddisikaādīnaṃ, but the cātuddisikadīnānaṃ of the MSS. is quite correct and we must translate: "Collect for the poor (bhikkhus) from the four regions of the heavens a plentiful gift of alms."

81. 67 (p. 141, l. 17). Read: after that, instead of for that.